



U.S. Department of Justice

Federal Bureau of Investigation

Washington, D.C. 20535

October 26, 2007

MR ERNIE LAZAR
APARTMENT #6
577 SOUTH THORNHILL ROAD
PALM SPRINGS, CA 92264 7884

Subject: FILE NUMBER 100-47243

FOIPA No. 1069456- 000

Dear Requester:

The enclosed documents were reviewed under the Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA), Title 5, United States Code, Section 552/552a. Deletions have been made to protect information which is exempt from disclosure, with the appropriate exemptions noted on the page next to the excision. In addition, a deleted page information sheet was inserted in the file to indicate where pages were withheld entirely. The exemptions used to withhold information are marked below and explained on the enclosed Form OPCA-16a:

Section 552

- ☐ (b)(1)
☒ (b)(2)
☐ (b)(3) _____

☐ (b)(4)
☐ (b)(5)
☒ (b)(6)

- ☐ (b)(7)(A)
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☒ (b)(7)(D)
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☐ (b)(8)
☐ (b)(9)

Section 552a

- ☐ (d)(5)
☐ (j)(2)
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☐ (k)(7)

128 page(s) were reviewed and 122 page(s) are being released.

☐ Document(s) were located which originated with, or contained information concerning other Government agency(ies) [OGA]. This information has been:

- ☐ referred to the OGA for review and direct response to you.
☐ referred to the OGA for consultation. The FBI will correspond with you regarding this information when the consultation is finished.


☒ You have the right to appeal any denials in this release. Appeals should be directed in writing to the Director, Office of Information and Privacy, U.S. Department of Justice, 1425 New York Ave., NW, Suite 11050, Washington, D.C. 20530-0001 within sixty days from the date of this letter. The envelope and the letter should be clearly marked "Freedom of Information Appeal" or "Information Appeal." Please cite the FOIPA number assigned to your request so that it may be easily identified.

☐ The enclosed material is from the main investigative file(s) in which the subject(s) of your request was the focus of the investigation. Our search located additional references, in files relating to other individuals, or matters, which may or may not be about your subject(s). Our experience has shown, when ident, references usually contain information similar to the information processed in the main file(s).

Because of our significant backlog, we have given priority to processing only the main investigative file(s). If you want the references, you must submit a separate request for them in writing, and they will be reviewed at a later date, as time and resources permit.

☐ See additional information which follows.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "D. Hardy", with a stylized flourish at the end.

David M. Hardy
Section Chief
Record/Information
Dissemination Section
Records Management Division

Enclosure(s)

Memorandum



To : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO

Date

1/18/82

From : LEGAL SECTION (190-921)

Subject : FREEDOM OF INFORMATION - PRIVACY ACTS (FOIPA)
(File Destruction)

The following have been reviewed pursuant
to an FOIPA matter and may not be destroyed until indicated.

FILE - SERIAL

100 - 47243 *

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291-732

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1/87

MAINTAIN As Top Serial

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO

DATE: FEB - 7 1978

FROM : SA [REDACTED] (66-4556-325)

b6
b7C

SUBJECT: FREEDOM OF INFORMATION - PRIVACY ACTS (FOIPA)
(File Destruction)

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Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

STUDENTS ASSOCIATED AGAINST TOTALITARIANISM

Box 784

Berkeley 1, California

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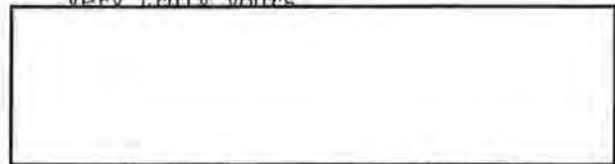
Students Associated Against Totalitarianism is an organization of students attending the University of California at Berkeley. Our purpose is to oppose any expression of totalitarian attitudes or propaganda and particularly the effects of communist subversion and influence.

We intend to use all legitimate means at our disposal to expose communist operations and sources of communist propaganda. In our area, however, this is not enough for the idea is already widespread that communism is a legitimate form of government and should be allowed to compete along side democracy and within democracy. It thus becomes our duty to attempt to keep the public aware of the barbarous nature of communism and the atrocities committed by the Soviet Union, both within her borders and without. In this age of decisive conflict between our democratic system and totalitarianism, our survival depends upon an alert and informed citizenry.

Since our energy will be devoted largely to this task, we have decided not to take a stand on many issues which we feel are peripheral to it. In this manner we hope to unite our members in a common struggle and to solicit help from as large a part of the public as possible.

We are and shall remain an independent organization but we shall accept money, suggestions and publications from any persons or groups who support our ideals and are kind enough to aid us. To these people we shall be happy to explain in detail our aims, our activities, and the use we make of any money offered us.

Very truly yours



SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
MAY 9 1961
FBI - SAN FRANCISCO

Like CANCER -- COMMUNISM kills. Help crush it!

100 - 47243-1

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about
names

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Hw

Wilkinson

TO THE EDITOR: In allowing Frank Wilkinson to speak at the University of California, the prediction of Dimitri Manuilsky of the Lenin Institute of Political Warfare, Moscow, is being fulfilled: that "The capitalist countries, stupid and decadent, will rejoice to co-operate in their own destruction," and Lenin's prediction that we will even finance that destruction.

There is no excuse for a tax-supported institution like the University to co-operate with known Communists. The argument is that all sides of every issue should be presented. Yet the left-wing political party that sponsored Wilkinson has continually brought forth but one idea, as their most recent endeavor demonstrates.

How long are we going to aid those who are dedicated to destroying us not through nuclear warfare but through the spread of their ideology?

—Beverly King.

TO THE EDITOR: The appearance of Frank Wilkinson is another in a series of incidents on the Berkeley campus which serves the purpose of weakening both the University and the United States, bringing them into disrepute and causing disturbances. Students and teachers feel that protests are helpful actions, and show that the students are thinking and stimulated. This is indeed good, if not endangered by misdirection. The students' antics in supporting every protest and new ideal that happens along, reminds one of a rebellious adolescent constantly chafing against the bit of older and wiser authority and experience. Fortunately, most outgrow rebellion for the sake of rebellion, and understand this is the means of maturing and learning to think independently. Youth is always a prime target for misdirection, as it is easy to exploit their lofty dreams and idealism which have not yet been tempered by actual experience.

—Victor Winkel,
Senior, speech.

The Great Fraud

No one who has seen the Soviet Union can take seriously any comparison between that country and the United States, unless it be in the terms of arms production. The population of the Soviet Union lives on a near-subsistence level which requires it to be compared rather with newly-developed countries in Africa and Asia.

It is unfortunate that the talk of "keeping ahead of the Soviets" ever got started because we have caused them to be taken seriously in areas where they would never even be considered an important power. It is, in fact, America which has "made" the Soviet Union and who is every day enhancing her reputation around the world by serious talk of competing with her. But if such competition ever arises, it will be in a different epoch and under different conditions from those which now exist.

The trouble began when Roosevelt recognized the Soviet Union. He continued his errors and permitted the whole of Eastern Europe to be thrown into darkness. Now the leaders of free countries are at a considerable disadvantage when they attempt to use conventional diplomatic procedure with gangsters who understand nothing but force.

Under a two-column photo of Wilkinson, another article reported an interview with an old gentleman who opposed Wilkinson's appearance. The reporter's derisive treatment of his comments made it clear that any opposition to Wilkinson could come only from a hopelessly reactionary individual who is tragically out of touch with his time and preoccupied with the superfluous question of the taxpayers' money.

In a third article, the vice-chancellor in charge of student affairs congratulates the students for showing "your general good sense as you have so many times before" for not having created a scene upon Wilkinson's appearing before them.

And, indeed, why should there have been any trouble since the rioting students got just what they wanted?

—CHARLES FOX.

Berkeley.

TO THE EDITOR: When we finish patting ourselves on the back for our fairness in hearing Frank Wilkinson, let us ask ourselves this question: Is not our concern with the "free speech" issue one more instance of that process of rationalization for our ultimate fear of the bomb? For a decade atomic blackmail has been the motivation for our tolerance of acts inconceivable 20 years ago. We were scared witless when the Soviets got nuclear power; we tried to bury our fear; we began to substitute for it perverted concepts of fair play; the Soviet system, once generally conceded to be totalitarian, has little by little inched its way into our American minds as just another respectable form of government ("They have their systems and we have ours and may the best man win") or possibly even superior ("Their satellites are 10 times bigger—they can't be all bad").

Underdogs

TO THE EDITOR: The real "persecuted underdogs" of this world are the millions of individuals who are held captives in their own countries and ruled over by communistic fascists. The suffering of these people is increased every time they hear of a new American act which strengthens the Soviet Union. The very word "co-existence" is anathema to them for it means only further enslavement.

—Charles Fox,
Graduate, Linguistics

Youth

TO THE EDITOR: Those who keep shouting it can't happen here should not fail to read the statements of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, national chairman of the U.S. Communist party. Under the head "Red Party in U.S Looks to Youth" appearing in the Oakland Tribune, April 4, an interview with Mrs Flynn answers explicitly several frequently raised questions about Communist influence in student political life.

Mrs. Flynn acknowledges that students are being increasingly attracted to the party and that their "general activity" in religious groups, peace marches and student organizations is "encouraging." She acknowledges furthermore that though they do not often come right out and join, it is simply because of fear of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Under her leadership, she adds, the party will continue to strive for the abolition of this committee.

Students who go along with the so-called liberal campus movement merely because it appears so much more intellectually sophisticated than its adversaries, can see that Mrs. Flynn will be delighted to have them among. By exploiting student idealism and the inevitable adolescent rebelliousness, by picturing all anti-communism as a combination of Judas and George Babbitt, the Communist party is reaping the bonanza that the interview describes.

Is there no one who will point out clearly to the student body that joining Communist-front groups means in all likelihood a life-long commitment, that once one is in, the party uses every means, including overt threats and blackmail, to keep him there. What started out as sincere but misguided idealism and search for truth may be given a completely different direction from the one which the innocent freshmen from Casa Grande Poly intended. By being naive enough to let his good intentions be exploited by career agitators, he may himself find out that the only career left open to him, too, is that of agitator.

—George Keith,
Graduate, Romance languages

Campus Speech

Editor: On March 22 I heard Frank Wilkinson speak at the University of California. Wilkinson, who has been identified as being an organizer for communist front groups by our federal investigative agencies, used the campus as a forum for attacking the House Un-American Activities Committee. Most of my fellow students listened to his speech in contemptuous silence. However, a minority of the audience greeted Wilkinson's attacks with frenzied applause, and hissed when a student asked Wilkinson if he were a communist.

The core of this minority consists of a small, organized, and dedicated group. It invited Wilkinson to speak. It has repeatedly attempted to mold student opinion—for example, by organizing a standing committee to defend the pseudo-communist Castro regime. Scheduled next, we hear, is a discussion of the question of "American imperialism." (Why not Soviet imperialism? That exists.)

The recent general trend of events is causing increasing concern among the students. "Daily Californian," our campus newspaper, in a March 24 editorial went so far as to state that masquerading communists have taken a foothold at the University. If this be so, then prompt and decisive action by the general public is needed in order to help end such a state of affairs.

—A. TRAPANS.

Berkeley.

TO THE EDITOR: Frank Wilkinson's pitch to the crowd about his economically secure youth and his belated discovery of such evils as poverty is no doubt cleverly contrived. But it is hardly likely that it was Wilkinson who invented the technique.

This is just the type of story we so often hear people who have escaped after being interrogated by the Communist police. These people always talk about a period of clever but forced brainwashing followed by a "sincere" confession which the captors exploit as "self-criticism."

Wilkinson's crime was to have belonged to the bourgeoisie. He seeks absolution through constant self-criticism and public confession. Who is to doubt that he is "sincere" in terms of this new phraseology which is subverting all our values? Perhaps the sympathizers in Wilkinson's audience were not the only ones fooled by his speech?

—Charles Fox,
Graduate, Linguistics

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of \$1.00 for ten issues.

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SOVIET SPACE (Continued from 8)
This great scientifically plan-
ned economy is somehow able to
clothe adequately only one group:
the army. The one remaining group
of visibly well-dressed people all
turn out to belong to a gregari-
ous set of Gorki Street black mar-
keteers--far more intent on buying
(free enterprise style) the wash-
and-wear suit off your back than in
deploying a Red flag on the moon.
--George Keith.

*201-13th St
Oakland, Calif*

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JUN 23 1961
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100-47243-2



TOCSIN

STUDENTS ASSOCIATED AGAINST
TOTALITARIANISM

Berkeley, Calif. Vol. I, No. 1

TOCSIN NEW VOICE FOR STUDENTS
UNITED TO OPPOSE TOTALITARIANISM
Tocsin, publication of Students
Associated Against Totalitarian-
ism, makes its first appearance
this week. Devoted largely to
articles and information on anti-
communism, the organ will in the
future be mailed to subscribers.
A subscription coupon appears on
page 12 and should be sent to SAAT,
Box 784, Berkeley 1, California,
according to Victor Winkel, chair-
man. Subscription rate is \$1.00
for the first ten issues.

SAAT is an independent off-cam-
pus political group, made up of
students attending the University
of California dedicated to com-
batting communist propaganda.
"We are the only such group in
the immediate area actively de-
voted to fighting the communist
conspiracy," Winkel said. "We are
confident that there are many in-
dividual citizens who feel as we
do, and we hope through TOCSIN to
focus the as yet unutilized energy
needed to expose communism."

Letters to the editor will be
printed as space permits, Winkel
said.

SAAT, OTHER CALIFORNIA STUDENT GROUPS HOLD PALO ALTO MEETING

Members of SAAT met in Palo
Alto on May 26 with representa-
tives of anti-communist student
groups from the University of San
Francisco, San Francisco State Col-
lege, Stanford University, San Jo-
se State College and other Bay
Area institutions.

Plans were made for concerted
action in the future. SAAT will
work with similar student organi-
zations to help in combatting sub-
versive propaganda and in counter-
ing the activities of extreme left-
wing demonstrators.

b6
b7c

ADVICE TO PATRIOTS

Persons loyal to the ideals of the United States are warned to be discreet. Such people should weigh carefully the implications of their ideas before they express approval of the American system.

If it is considered absolutely necessary to say something good about the United States, the statement should be prefaced by some such apology as "I don't want to be considered a super-patriot, but ..."

Interlarding comments with severe criticisms of the United States will help prevent the speaker's being classified as so ignorant as to be beyond redemption. It is decidedly old hat to say nice things about the United States.

At social functions it is considered bad taste to defend the United States and a person who is not cautious will find himself isolated by the others. When this occurs, his case is not necessarily lost.

If he waits for someone to broach a criticism of the Soviet Union, however small, he can pounce upon it and say, "Maybe so, but just look at what's wrong with this country."

This will arouse enthusiastic interest and reinstate him in good favor in no time at all.

ADVICE TO TRAITORS

It is not necessary to dwell on this subject here because information and hints can be obtained from almost any publication and from the most casual of conversations. The old trick still works. An attack against the United States need only be introduced by the remarks, "I'm just as much opposed to communism as anyone else, but..."

A bit of patience is required: the time will soon come when it won't be necessary to hedge in this manner.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Dear Sir: This country of ours is locked in a gigantic, life or death struggle with global communism; and this battle for the world will not be won by guided missiles or satellites, but rather with the dedication that lies in the hearts of men.

It is especially important that our leaders of tomorrow (the students of today) equip themselves with the proper knowledge, determination and patriotism, so that America will triumph over Red despotism.

Ours is not a war for survival, as some would have it called. Rather, it is a crusade against a cancerous evil that leaves death, terror and hopelessness in its wake.

Our nation has come through grave crises before -- successfully. Today we are faced with our greatest and most formidable challenge. To date this enemy of ours has been phenomenally successful. Through use of unorthodox strategies and tactics, he has succeeded in spreading his poisons into our very midsts.

We must combat this deadly antagonist of ours, everywhere; in the classrooms, in commerce and industry, in the church, in politics, in labor and fraternal organizations and in government.

There is no magic formula that will bring about the communists' downfall. Each one of us Americans must go all out in this campaign. We must unlock our hearts and our pocketbooks; and give generously of ourselves and our treasure, in behalf of our country.

The spirit of 1776 is still very much a valid concept. Let us go forth unto battle with the enemy, without compromises, without appeasement, without retreats. There can be no alternative but victory. Therefore let us gird ourselves for the offensive.

Let it also be said of us when our history is written that "We have met the enemy and they are ours."

-- Fred Huntley

972 Grizzly Peak Blvd., Berkeley

THE STUDENT AND THE COMMISSAR

The student mind is the ripest field for sowing communism. Every major figure who became a communist in a non-communist country did so while he was a student.

The relative communist success with students as compared with other groups of the population has been such that the communists have found it feasible to send college students to work in factories in order to propagandize the workers.

In order to persuade and to recruit students the communists use specially trained organizers--some of whom pose as students--and sympathetic professors.

On the use of professors, George Dimitrov of the Lenin School in Moscow said, "As Soviet power grows, there will be a greater aversion to communist parties everywhere. So we must practice the techniques of withdrawal. Never appear in the foreground; let our friends do the work. We must always remember that one sympathizer is generally worth more than a dozen militant communists."

"A university professor who, without being a party member, lends himself to interests of the Soviet Union, is worth more than a hundred men with party cards."

THE MEANING OF DIALECTICS

When a Soviet student at the University of California was asked why his fellow citizens are kept prisoners within their own country, he replied:

"This involves the question of national boundaries. You keep people out; the Soviet Union keeps people in. It's the same thing."

Questioned about his own experiences outside the Soviet paradise, he stated that he had been a soldier in Hungary during the uprising. But in a public address made on the campus, he denied ever having been in military service (thus presenting a fine contrast with war-mongering American imperialists who force their sons to undergo military training.)

This is another facet of communist dialectics: truth and falsehood are the same thing.

FLABBY EXCUSES FOR IRRESPONSIBILITY

Often in discussions of our conflict with the communists, the statement is made: "If we fail, we will get only what we deserve." The philosophy behind such pronouncements may be very effective in teaching young children, but it has nothing whatever to do with political realities. Furthermore, it is hardly the place of the communists to give us lessons in morality.

The long series of mistakes we have made in dealing with the communists has arisen from our refusal to acknowledge the real nature of the threat which faces us. We are so stupidly sentimental that we do not let ourselves recognize that evil persons exist who are impervious to reason and humanitarian pleas.

International politics is not football and the same rules of fair play are not operative. There are Americans who seem to think that all we need do is to uphold traditional American principles and truth is bound to win in the end. According to this thinking, the vast military and industrial sacrifices we made to win World War II must have been unnecessary since our hearts were so pure!

A little imagination, a certain willingness to go beyond local and provincial points of view, will enable us to understand what Khrushchev is and wants. All one really has to do is listen carefully to what he says and register it as such, without giving it a namby-pamby, escapist, emotional interpretation.

Only a false and temporary reassurance could come through self-deceit, and there is no satisfaction whatever to be gained from the belief that we get only what we deserve.

**

When you ask Russians what their material conditions are, they will answer: bad. How bad? "Well," they will say, "we have it just like Lenin in the mausoleum. They don't feed him, but they don't bury him either."

FREEDOM OF WHOSE SPEECH?

Leave it to the communists to succeed in clarifying what is meant by the term "freedom of speech" which has cropped up in so many political discussions recently. They will make its meaning clear even to the liberals, though perhaps these admirers of fine phrases will catch on only after it is too late for the real freedom of our country.

To the communists "freedom" always means that they should be allowed to subvert our government and destroy all civilized values without being restrained in any way. They want to utilize the very essence of a democratic government--its guarantee of liberties to its citizens--as a tool by which to destroy it completely.

Unless we Americans keep constantly aware of the meaning of liberty and alert to the necessity for defending it, we are going to find Western civilization replaced by the conditions which existed prior to the Magna Charta.

The communists know that however gullible the liberals are, they can be led only step by step. They begin with obfuscating language about "freedom of speech" and proceed with more concrete matters.

The May issue of Political Affairs, a Communist publication, indicates the next step: "Too often the intellectual and the liberal tells the half truth. Society will not long continue to respect advice on rights when deceived as to content. It is high time that the civil libertarian state what he knows a communist advocates...."

"This requires relating the right to the concrete situation. We are always anxious and prepared to participate in such an objective examination. Intellectuals and civil libertarians are given a hearing on rights because it is assumed that they

(continued page 5)

SLATE CHIEF CLARIFIES QUESTION ON COLLABORATION WITH COMMUNISTS

SLATE, a left-wing student political party at the University of California, stands in the forefront of the fight to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities. One of SLATE's most active members is Michael Tigar, past party chairman and broadcaster for Berkeley's radio station KPFA. Writing in the May 1961 issue of The Liberal Democrat, Mr. Tigar had this to say about the question of student collaboration with communists (emphasis ours):

"The vote for the continuation of HCUA was 412 to 6. Certain congressmen said that they wanted to vote against the Committee but feared to do so. What hope for these congressmen and their six braver compatriots do the events of the past year hold?

"None, I fear, unless we, both students and onlookers, can escape from our own fear and admit that we have joined the battle against the Committee, joined with fellow-travelers and card-carrying, non-card-carrying, past, present, and future members of the Communist Party, and what's it to you all anyway?"

SAAT IS LONELY:

The Young Socialist of May 1961, in reporting a demonstration held at the San Francisco Civic Center Plaza under the auspices of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, et al, says, "Meanwhile a counter-demonstration was staged by a newly formed group called 'Students Associated Against Totalitarianism.' Eighteen rightists marched around the plaza, held their own little rally, and the remaining 15 resumed their lonely march."

**

Khrushchev is complaining to Mikoyan that there are mice in his office. "Oh, that's easy to fix," says Mikoyan. "Just put up a sign on your wall that all mice have to join collective farms. As soon as they see it, half of them will run away and the other half die of starvation."

SOVIET SPACE THRUSTS CONCEAL LOW RUSSIAN LIVING STANDARD

Every new Soviet space venture only helps conceal from the world the fact that they are being paid for with the life blood of the Russian people. American newspaper men, who are in the front line in the psychological war, have sometimes trained their guns in the wrong direction and contributed to clouding the picture.

In a House Un-American Activities report, "Communist Strategy of Protracted Conflict," this complaint was registered:

"Following the announcement that the Soviet Union had put an earth satellite into orbit, the columnists in the United States seemed to vie with one another in playing the psychological warfare game with the Kremlin's cards....

"There is reason to fear that the Soviets are making a calculated effort, by applying cleverly conceived advertising techniques to their technological gains, to induce us to overestimate their total strategic capabilities. For decades, they have pursued a policy of 'planned misinformation'...."

Despite glowing reports in both the U.S. and Russian presses creating a false picture of strength and abundance, the Soviet extraterrestrial successes have been matched by no comparable improvement in the Soviet citizen's lot.

He is still living on a near-subsistence level, sustains himself on a monotonous diet of black bread, potatoes and yogurt, and wonders whether he'll ever see the long-promised decent place to live.

I met more than one Muscovite last year who would gladly have exchanged some of the Sputnik-generated prestige for a decent suit of clothes. In a large Lenin-grad hotel, where every floor has its supervisor to check on suspicious visitors, even the supposedly loyal supervisor herself begged me somehow to obtain for her a woman's coat.

(continued page 12)

TOCSIN is written and distributed by Students Associated Against Totalitarianism, an independent organization, Box 784, Berkeley 1, California. Subscription price: \$1.00 for ten issues. Editor. . . . George Keith

FREEDOM (Continued from 4) know the content of what various forces advocate.

"All too often, they don't know the content--and they should be called upon to master the content as a credential to their defense of the right of advocacy. And we Communists must be much more assertive in our right to have the facts known in the public arena to combat slander and falsehood."

Must we Americans tolerate also the freedom to destroy all freedoms?

RECOMMENDED READING

Collectivism on the Campus, by Dr. E. Merrill Root, Devin-Adair, \$5.00

I Was a Slave in Russia, by John Noble, Devin-Adair, \$3.75

Disarm, by Lowell Limpus, Freedom Press, \$3.95

Conquest of the American Mind, by Felix Wittmer, Meador, \$5.00

Roosevelt's Road to Russia, by

George N. Crocker, Regnery, \$5.00

Eleven Years in Soviet Prison Camps, by Elinor Lipper, Regnery, \$3.50

The Communist Persuasion, by Eleutherius Winance, O.S.B., Kennedy, \$3.95

The Black Book on Red China, by Edward Hunter, Bookmailer, \$2.00

No Wonder We Are Losing, by Judge Robert Morris, Bookmailer, \$2.50

The Hidden Russia, by Nikolai Krasnov, Jr., Holt, \$5.00

Questions and Answers on Communism, by Richard Cardinal Cushing, Daughters of St. Paul, \$1.25.

A Guide to Anti-Communist Action, by Dr. Anthony T. Bouscaren, Regnery, \$4.00

The Moulding of Communists, by Frank S. Meyer, Harcourt, \$5.00

THE FIGHT AGAINST COMMUNISM AND THE FOREIGN AID MYTH

By Charles Fox

Mr. Kennedy returns from his ill-advised meeting with the communist boss to present again the only solution in the bureaucrat's book to fight communism: more American aid to foreign countries.

For the past 15 years the panacea for all the world's ills has been increased American aid. During these 15 years we have found ourselves objects of suspicion in areas where we were not suspected before and we have found that the communists have gained steadily against us.

We ought to offer aid during such emergencies as that of the earthquake in Chile in 1960 and we ought to give military aid to small countries on the verge of being swallowed up by the communists. But we are suffering from an illusion if we think we can combat communism effectively by extending more and more aid to countries here and there over the globe.

It is just as logical--and more probable--to suppose that through our foreign aid we are helping the communists rather than checking their expansion. A great deal of our money and military equipment gets to them eventually, even when it is not given them directly. While we weaken ourselves, we strengthen our enemy: the communists gain a double advantage.

We must engage in the kind of commercial relations with underdeveloped countries which will permit them gradually to build up sound, viable economies at the same time that they maintain their sense of dignity and self-respect. Hasty gifts cannot accomplish miracles, even if they are used for their intended purposes.

A huge aid program can have a disastrous effect on the moral structure of a nation. The changes wrought in this way are comparable to those of an invasion by another power. When the members of a society are no longer sure of its spiritual values, they are thrown off balance. The necessity to make a multitude of new choices creates a moral crisis. It is just this situation which the communists know how to exploit. Communism does not originate with the poor but with the morally disinherited.

We ought to start now to isolate the communists and make sure that it is they who wither on the vine. We are still strong enough to impose an effective trade embargo on any nation which does business with the communists. Either this problem is serious or it is not serious. If it is serious, the time to do something about it is right now.

We have let ourselves be reduced to such a humble position that it seems our politicians are running about from embassy door to embassy door begging other nations to be friendly with us. Nations which are likely to be dominated by the communists even before us are able to convince our leaders that the whole burden of defence is upon us, and they wait to see what we are going to do about it. We act toward other free nations as if we were a rich old grandfather who knows he is about to die anyway and might as well turn over his money now rather than wait for the end to come.

We must rid ourselves of fuzzy thinking and sentimental attitudes. We must take a realistic course of action based upon genuine moral principles. Too many Americans do not want to admit that communism is real and that it intends to destroy us as a nation.

We are still able to defend ourselves. If we wait much longer, we will have a choice between only two things: abject slavery or being murdered for "counter-revolutionary activity."

100-47243

TOCSIN

STUDENTS ASSOCIATED AGAINST TOTALITARIANISM

Berkeley, Calif.

Vol. I, No. 4

A DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST CONSPIRACY

On June 12, 1961, Representative John R. Pillion of the 42d district, New York, introduced in the United States Congress House Joint Resolution 447. The purpose of the resolution is to mobilize all our resources to meet and defeat the 98 communist parties, allied with and dominated by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which are waging a total war against the United States and all free peoples.

In an address delivered before Congress on the day the resolution was introduced, Pillion pointed out that the measure was not intended as a panacea. He states, however, "This action does furnish the starting point for the defeat of our enemy. Our present policies are both self deceptive and self defeating....We cannot win this war by ignoring its existence, or even by policies limited to defense. We must aggressively prosecute this war against the enemy, even as he is prosecuting it against us...."

"The prosecution of this war will call for dedication to out-match the dedication of a fanatical enemy. It will call for sacrifice surpassing that which the Communists are ready to endure. But the price which we will have to pay for ultimate victory will be cheap, because it will repurchase the most priceless possession of man--his freedom under God.

"Permit me to enumerate some of the practical results of the passage by Congress of this Resolution.

"First, by identifying the enemy, and secondly, by recognizing the war which the Communists have been waging against us, we shall have a basis for shaping our policies to prosecute the war. How can we formulate effective programs to defeat an enemy if we neither specify who he is, nor acknowledge that we are at war with him?

"Second, we shall raise a standard to which free men everywhere can rally. The enemy is not just our enemy, but of all who love freedom.

"We shall, by raising this standard, assert our rightful place as leaders of the yet Free World.

"We shall give renewed hope to the millions whom the Communists hold in bondage.

"Third, we shall have a guide for our domestic policies which must be consistent with the demands of the life and death struggle in which we are engaged.

"Finally, we shall have a justifiable hope that by accepting the challenge which the enemy poses to civilization itself, we can someday usher in an era of genuine peace, and the fulfillment of the highest aspirations of mankind.

"Mr. Speaker, we are in a war. Let us declare it. Let us win it."

These statements suggest the spirit of the resolution. SAAT suggests that you write Congressman Pillion, House Office Building, Washington, D.C., for a copy. Also, write the President, your two U.S. Senators (Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.) and your U.S. Representative (House Office Building, Washington, D.C.) endorsing it. FBI - San Francisco on 2/1/61

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A DECLARATION OF WAR (continued from 1.)

Ask your friends to take a similar action. Write letters to the editor of your local newspaper supporting this resolution.

Citizens must show their concern and the fact that they are alarmed about the current situation. The lackadaisical, spineless attitude of the United States leaders must be changed for an effective policy based on an appreciation of the role of power in the political world.

We must remember, meanwhile, that words are not deeds. We must stir our national leaders to act in an area in which decisive action is necessary to our survival.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

The liberals don't realize it, but bull-sessions on "the answer to communism" have an absurdly logical conclusion if one continues far enough with the usual liberal line.

A friend of ours, after running down the list of existing anti-communist groups, starting with HCUA, all of which drew liberal brickbats ("They're really just helping the communists," chorused the leftists), concluded: "At that rate, the only effective answer to communism is communism."

* *

The degree to which Soviet Russia has been able to worm its way into our confidence in the last decade as just another respectable form of government is reflected in the description of Khrushchev we heard recently as a "dedicated Marxist." We don't recall ever having heard Hitler referred to as a dedicated Nazi, nor even Stalin as anything but a dedicated tyrant. Once a criminal is accepted as a respectable human being, stigma becomes blunted.

* *

The current barrage of newspaper articles on the improved Soviet standard of living has helped dull our just evaluation of the regime as a fascist dictatorship of the left. "By any standards but their own," reports a staff member who visited Russia last year, "the rise in the Soviet living standard is not worth mentioning except as a propaganda device for making the enslaved masses seem like 'folks just like us.'"

* *

A valuable new arm in the Soviet propaganda arsenal is contributed by American journalists who make too great use of the "just plain Ivan" treatment of the Soviet citizen. This consists of human-interest yarns which allow one to forget the regime in his absorption with some quaint foible -- perfectly legitimate material if the world situation were not so grave. A recent example was a diverting radio account of the Russian's hate of visiting his dentist. "Just like us," says the unwary listener as he unconsciously enlarges the comparison to the point of blurring the border between the slave world and the free.

* *

Those who have argued with enemies of such institutions as the HCUA will not have failed to notice a current leftist technique in polemics: the irrelevant question. It consists of preempting a discussion on, say, the issue of detection of communists, by focusing attention on such non-issues as, "First, how can we improve the HCUA?"

STALIN ON DIPLOMACY: "Words have no relation to actions--otherwise what kind of diplomacy is it? Words are one thing, actions another. Good words are a mask for concealment of bad deeds. Sincere diplomacy is no more possible than dry water or wooden iron." -- J.V. Stalin

MANDEL EQUALS WILKINSON BUT U. C. IS WITHOUT EQUAL

William Mandel, who broadcasts weekly analyses and commentaries on Soviet newspapers and periodicals for Berkeley FM station KPFA, spoke in April to about 150 students at Ohio State University. Refused permission to appear on campus, Mandel spoke in the backyard of a private house nearby.

Since several leaders of Slate, the University of California left-wing political party, look to Mandel for guidance, they took up the cudgel immediately. The following telegram was sent to Ohio State:

"We protest the refusal to permit William Mandel to speak on the campus of Ohio State University. The reaction of the University is in strong contrast to that of the University of California in a similar situation.

"Last month when attempts were made to prevent Frank Wilkinson, a prominent opponent of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, from speaking on the campus, President Clark Kerr issued the following statement:

"The University is not engaged in making ideas safe for students. It is engaged in making students safe for ideas. Thus, it permits the freest expression of views before students, trusting to their good sense in passing judgment in the views. Only in this way can it best serve American democracy. This is the policy alike of the regents, the academic senate and the administration as stated in my Charter Day remarks."

"Governor Brown, Chancellor Strong and many other civic and academic leaders upheld the right of freedom of speech on the University campus. We commend similar leaders in Ohio, and call upon the University to follow the example of the University of California."

Michael Myerson
Chairman, Slate Campus
Political Party, U.C.

A letter in The Ohio State University Monthly (May, 1961) presents a rebuttal to the slant taken in the telegram. It reads:

"...We feel that Mandel's record speaks for itself. He was a writer for the Institute of Pacific Relations, which was a vehicle used by the Communists to orientate Americans Far Eastern policies toward Communist objectives. This organization was added to the subversive list after the Senate Judiciary Committee Report 2050 of July 2, 1952.

"He was associated with the American Russian Institute, cited by Attorney General Tom Clark April 27, 1949, as a Communist front organization. The A.R.I. was also cited by the Senate Judiciary Committee on July 2, 1957, as a Communist-controlled organization intimately linked with the I.P.R. The Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee also cited the A.R.I. in the Senate Document 117 as specializing in pro-Soviet propaganda.

"Mr. Mandel was also associated with the Committee for Far Eastern Policy, an organization listed in the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee Report of April 23, 1956, as 'part of Soviet psychological warfare against the United States.'... (continued on 4)

MANDEL (continued from 3)

"...Mandel's refusal to answer questions before the H.U.A.C. by pleading the Fifth Amendment, and his association with organizations listed subversive by the Attorney General, is evidence enough to make students question the integrity and motives of this man.

"We are not against the best American university tradition to stimulate intellectual curiosity in gathering facts and opinions, but we strongly feel that it is Mandel's intent not to present facts, but to discredit the H.U.A.C. by calling it Un-American. After reviewing his record, it is easy to see why he is attempting to discredit the H.U.A.C."

G. Scott Kayser, Com-2
Matt Thimmes, Arts-1

IGNORANT CHAUVINISM OR PHONY STATISTICS?

In his news conference of June 28, 1961, Kennedy stated that the annual gross production of Russia was 43% of that of the United States just prior to the communist revolution, and that today it is 47% of U.S. production.

Although American economists vary widely in their estimation of soviet economic growth, a good case can be made for the contention that their production is considerably less than 47%. Their exports in 1960 more or less equalled in value those of Switzerland, a slight improvement over the preceding year.

A casual tourist in the Soviet Union would tend to compare its standard of living with that of underdeveloped countries in Asia and Africa. The portion of production devoted to military uses appears to be extremely high, however.

Communist boasts of Russian economic progress even precede the revolution and have continued ever since.

In 1899 Lenin wrote The Development of Capitalism in Russia in which he stated that industrial progress in Russia was more rapid than in Western Europe and in America: "In ten years, from 1896 to 1896, the production of cast iron has tripled."

Pokrovski, the founder of the historical Marxist school in the Soviet Union, wrote in Marxism and the Peculiarities of Historical Development in Russia (1925): "At the last, (pre-revolutionary) Russia was developing faster than Western Europe. From the point of view of concentration of production, Russia at the beginning of the 20th century was developing faster than Germany. From the point of view of rhythm of production, Russian metallurgy held the first place in the world."

The same theme was taken up in Volume XI of the Great Soviet Encyclopedia of 1930 in an article of A. Boubnov, which was later republished as a part of the official history of the Communist Party. It is repeated in the History of the USSR, Volume II, 1861-1917, Moscow, 1959, a reference book used in Soviet universities.

No communist claim can be taken at its face value. So long as the Soviet Union remains a closed society (i.e., so long as it is communistic), the communists can make any kind of boast they like. There is no one to check their claims and they seem to find willing ears.

COMMUNIST TACTICS: THE WAR CALLED PEACE by Andres Trapans

At the same time that the communists stress that the struggle against the Free World must continue, they refer constantly to "peace," the need for "peaceful coexistence" and to the "peace-loving" Soviet Union.

For the communists, the word "peace" has two meanings.

The first communist definition of peace is in terms of a goal, an end result; it is the means by which they will triumph over their mortal enemies. "The coexistence of the Soviet Republic with the imperialist states for a long time is unthinkable," said Lenin. "One or the other must triumph in the end." This statement has been echoed time and again by Stalin and Khrushchev. Only after the enemies of communism have been destroyed will there be true peace, a peace on communist terms.

The second communist definition of peace is a tactical term. In this sense it means the temporary use of non-violent means of conflict, the use of propaganda, infiltration, political and economic warfare. "Peace" becomes a tool, a weapon used by the communists to aid their advance and mask their true objectives. It is a means for sapping America's strength and purpose, for lulling America into a deadly sleep from which she will never awaken.

"We shall coexist peacefully," says Khrushchev, "until we bury you." The communists want to coexist as a rope coexists with the neck of the man to be hanged, as deadly germs coexist with a healthy organism.

Day and night, 365 days a year, the propaganda mills of Moscow grind out the message of communist "peace." American communists and their sympathizers echo the Moscow line, word for word. They stage "peace" rallies and "peace" marches to demand that the United States disarm unilaterally. Let America alone ban the bomb!

Untold thousands of Americans, taken in by communist "peace" propaganda, are duped into fighting for "peace." It is a peace whose conditions they do not understand; it is a peace gained through the loss of all honor and all freedom.

The goal of communist peace propaganda in America is to bring about a desire to accommodate and appease the communists, an unwillingness to recognize America's enemy and to fight against it. When such moral dry rot has progressed far enough (and the men in the Kremlin are confident that it will) then, indeed, will the chilling prophecy of Lenin come true:

"First we will take Eastern Europe, then the masses of Asia, then we will encircle the United States, which will be the last bastion of capitalism. We will not have to attack. It will fall like an overripe fruit into our hands."

LOYALTY OATHS PROTECT VITAL FREEDOM by Edgar S. Parker

"And I like to follow the truth wherever it leads me. That's why I'm against loyalty oaths." These high-sounding words from a zoology professor were recently applauded by a class of U.C.'s monotonously liberal students.

It is difficult to visualize an instance in which a researcher in zoology would be prevented by a loyalty oath from making scientific investigations. Most loyalty oaths require the signer to affirm two things: that he supports the United States Government; and that he does not belong to an organization dedicated to overthrowing that government by forcible means. (continued on 6)

LOYALTY OATHS (continued from 5)

A statement of loyalty to a democratic government is asked for, not a declaration of allegiance to a dictator or to the single party in power.

The loyalty oath helps to protect us from those who would betray our country to the enemy. The courts were able to convict Alger Hiss after he signed such an oath.

The zoology professor is being asked only to continue to search for and support the truth which he considers so vital and to be open and truthful in his wishes for his country's government, instead of attempting to destroy that government by subversion and falsehood.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Dear Sir: Enclosed is a subscription to your truly daring publication, TOCSIN.

How anyone has the nerve to produce a paper like TOCSIN up on your pink campus is beyond my understanding. To me, it is much like The Wall Street Journal getting out a Russian-language edition in Moscow.

You mention that the great issue of the day is arguable only in terms of black and white; I quite agree. In other words, is Eleanor Roosevelt just stupid or is she a communist, as generally believed? Or, who joined the Party first, Eleanor or her husband?

Seriously, I applaud your bold work wholeheartedly. Keep it up. Incidentally, if State could pass out its nasty little leaflets so impudently, could you manage to pass out a few to new students this fall?

Finally, in regard to HCUA, I trust you are aware of what seems to me the tip-off on a writer's pink sympathies. If reference is made repeatedly to just plain "Un-American Committee," dropping the "Activities," doesn't that flash red lights in your eyes? It does to me.

And who used such a term frequently during riot write-ups in papers? The San Francisco Chronicle, that's who. Yes, the little pink Chron, which still amazes me by keeping up Lucius Beebe's wonderful blasts every Monday.

--Frederick V. Mancourt
1611 - 10th Street
Berkeley 10

POLITICAL PITCH IN NEW MEISENBACH FUNDS AD

The Reporter, national bi-monthly magazine of "facts and ideas" carries an advertisement in its July 6, 1961, issue headed "Operation Abolition and the Meisenbach Trial." It is an appeal for funds to pay "debts of more than \$12,000, even though the attorneys have waived their regular fees."

The advertisement contains this sentence about the film Operation Abolition: "Distortions contained in this film have now been officially discredited by the jury's verdict."

TOCSIN readers doubtlessly have their own idea about what the trial proved, if anything.

The two-column five-inch display advertisement should compensate The Reporter for its fallacious article by Paul Jacobs about Operation Abolition.

The advertisement is sponsored by Professors Henry R. May, Alexander Meiklejohn, Paul Seabury, Philip Selznick, Henry Nash Smith, Kenneth M. Stampp et al. The appeal is made under the auspices of

(continued on 7)

POLITICAL PITCH (continued from 6)

The Bay Area Students Legal Aid Fund. Funds are collected by Prof. Charles S. McCoy at the Pacific School of Religion in Berkeley, California. The address given, significantly, is that of the institution itself.

On the campus of the University of California, also, appeals have been made by memoranda sent to professors and staff members through official channels.

Since the trial verdict is being used for purposes of political propaganda, public facilities are again being used improperly.

A LETTER TO KENNEDY ABOUT "TRACTORS FOR TRIBUTE"

SAAT still has forms to petition against the Cuban "Tractors for Tribute" in the event this issue should be dragged out further. Readers may then write to SAAT for a copy of the petition. These forms are furnished us by the periodical Human Events, 410 First Street, S.E., Washington 3, D.C.

The petition is an open letter to President Kennedy and reads as follows:

"We respectfully wish to inform you that, as Americans dedicated to freedom and justice in a world beset by Communist tyranny, we stand diametrically opposed to the Castro tractor deal which you have unofficially endorsed.

"We believe that to pay tribute in any form to a Communist dictator constitutes the height of international immorality. We believe also that this deal with the bearded blackmailer is as politically unsound as it is immoral. The peoples of Latin America--indeed of the entire world--must be taking a long and questioning look at the nation they were taught to believe to be the strongest and proudest on earth.

"Can this tractor deal--especially since it came on the heels of your retreat in Laos--enhance the American 'prestige' you worried so much about during the Presidential campaign?

"We have the utmost compassion for the brave men now languishing in Castro's prisons; men who, incidentally, might well be free today if your Administration had allowed their invasion attempt proper and logistical support. But what will it profit the cause of Cuban liberty if these men are freed in a deal which would solidify Castro's hold over Cuba and her eight million people?

"Could you not have pursued other means, such as a blockade of the Island of Cuba, before endorsing the Eleanor Roosevelt-Walter Reuther-Milton Eisenhower 'Tractors for Freedom' Committee? Will it be the continuing policy

(continued on 8)

TOCSIN is written and distributed by Students Associated Against Totalitarianism, an independent organization, Box 784, Berkeley 1, Calif. Charles Fox, Chairman Phone THornwall 3-8832. Subscriptions \$1.00 for ten issues. Editor.....George Keith

SUBSCRIPTION COUPON

Students Associated
Against Totalitarianism
Box 784
Berkeley 1, Calif.

I wish to subscribe to TOCSIN and enclose the sum of \$1.00 for ten issues.

I enclose a contribution of _____ for your work.

Name.....

Street.....

City.....

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A LETTER TO KENNEDY (continued from 7)

of this Administration to 'talk loudly and carry a small stick'?

"In your City of Boston, at the time of our Revolution, a handful of Yankee farmers, many of them armed only with squirrel rifles, stood against 3,000 crack English regulars and exacted a terrible toll of the enemy. The stand of the outgunned Texans at the Alamo was a signal event in the Texas fight for independence. These are things men will do for liberty, Mr. President.

"And so ask us not what we can do to further entrench a half-pint Communist tyrant like Castro. Ask yourself and your advisors whether our nation can long survive if it is to abandon the principles, pride and honor which have made ours the greatest nation in the world. We want no New Frontiers of appeasement."

HORSE MEAT KHRUSHCHEV'S SOLUTION OF MEAT PROBLEM

The Khrushchev-approved introduction of horse meat as a staple in the Soviet diet may be something of a luxury for the millions who are used to subsisting on little more than bread and potatoes. The acute meat shortage, which became embarrassingly evident during the May Day celebration when people hoped to permit themselves a bit of luxury, may be partly due to the unbelievably bureaucratic supply machine, which functions haphazardly even in high priority areas such as Intourist hotels. Tourists visiting the Centralnaia Hotel in Moscow, for example, report getting coffee and butter with some meals, but noting that these items were inexplicably absent at others. "In addition," reported one, "all the meat we were served was either made into sausage or ground."

DOUBLE STANDARD: "I find that whenever any American suggests that we act in accordance with the needs of our own security he is apt to be called a fascist or imperialist, while if Uncle Joe suggests that he needs the Baltic Provinces, half of Poland, all of Bessarabia and access to the Mediterranean, all hands agree that he is a fine, frank, candid and generally delightful fellow who is very easy to deal with because he is so explicit in what he wants."

--James V. Forrestal, 1944, quoted in Life, October 15, 1951

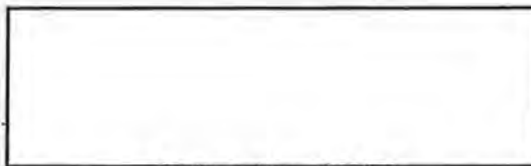
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FALSE FRONT: "The marketplace of thought is no longer free when competitors may enter it anonymously and fight democracy while they hide under the cloak of democracy."--Morris Ernst

Students Associated
Against Totalitarianism
Box 784
Berkeley 1, California

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July 6, 1961

Gentlemen -

I have been receiving in recent weeks a communication "Focusin" issued by Students at the University of California against Totalitarianism and from its import appears to be very American first and strictly Anti Communist, which coincides with my own thinking as an American. However, before subscribing to this periodical "Focusin" which is sustained by subscriptions and donations, I understand, and which appears from the face of it and as

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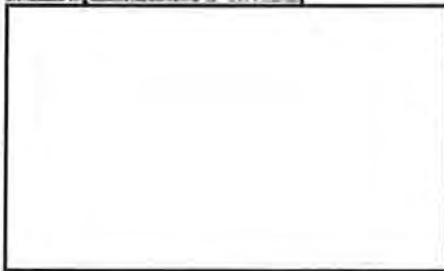
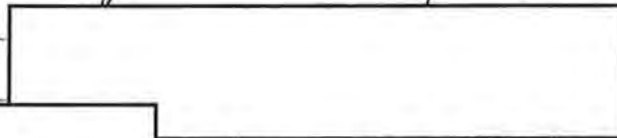
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kindly give me your opinion
of this group, if within your
province to do so
I am

Yours sincerely



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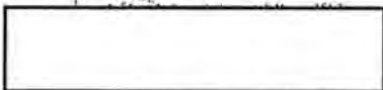
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Dear [redacted]

I am in receipt of your letter of recent date, together with the enclosure furnished with your letter, and the motives prompting your communication are indeed appreciated.

Although I would like to be of assistance, I must advise that the FBI is strictly an investigative agency and information in our files is confidential and available for official use only. It is also pointed out that the FBI makes no evaluations or recommendations concerning the character or integrity of any organization, individual or publication.

It is also pointed out that our inability to furnish any comment concerning your inquiry should not be interpreted as implying that we do or do not have information in our files concerning the subject of interest to you.

Sincerely yours,

R.B.

R. D. AUERBACH
Special Agent in Charge

1 - Addressee
SF 100-47243

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T O C S I N

STUDENTS ASSOCIATED AGAINST TOTALITARIANISM

Berkeley, Calif.

Vol. 1, No. 6

AMERICAN NEGROES - Pawns IN THE COLD WAR

Americans who tour Europe seldom escape having U.S. racial tensions thrown up at them as proof that in this country word and deed are not in accord. Whatever the motivation of Europeans for this reproach — the seeking after the obvious flaw in an envy-inspiring nation or eagerness to reaffirm their own "spiritual superiority" — the racial issue proves a made-to-order propaganda rut for communist hate-America writers.

A U.S. Information Agency release commenting on the recent Alabama incidents stated, "The resurgence of segregation problems has dealt a severe blow to U.S. stature and might adversely affect its position of leadership in the Free World."

Columnist Arnold Beichman, in a perceptive analysis of the release, points out the fallacy of supposing that either Khrushchev or Mao "will be persuaded that we should be allowed to live in harmony were established in Mississippi."

The Soviets do not care one whit how we treat our peoples, but they are interested in exploiting latent tensions. As proof that the racial issue is, for the communists, only an anti-U.S. propaganda weapon, columnist Beichman points out that racialism in Asia and Africa is even more rampant. He cites the defense of discrimination of S.W.R. Bandaranaike, late prime minister of Ceylon, who said that discrimination in Asia and Africa, private or public, is based on caste, color, language, politics and culture.

The communist press is helping to give the impression that America alone has a color problem. The fact that we are working openly to solve it merely provides easier access to information for those who wish to embarrass the U.S. about it. As we continue to make gains in settling a difficult problem, America must not be confused into allowing the Negro to become a cold-war issue.

DEVILS FROM THE PAST

The dead-witch technique is the new form of witch-hunting being employed by communist propagandists. It consists of focusing the spotlight on long-settled issues in order that Americans will be diverted from the task of meeting the crucial and current one: communism.

Some observers have noted a recent pattern in the sudden appearance of books, articles, films and plays on Nazi crimes which cannot be explained wholly in terms of the Eichmann trial and its resuscitation of the Nazi era.

Why they ask, have newspapers suddenly decided to serialize prominently books like The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich when they could run serially such timely books as Ambassador Arthur Bliss I Saw Poland Betrayed, a work which deals with a problem not yet solved? (continued on 2)

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DEVILS (continued from 1)

Anti-communist films have been almost non-existent, but the Swedish Mein Kampf, with its vivid depiction of Nazi concentration camp horrors, has received wide distribution (along with such rosy portrayals of the "new" Soviet peaceful coexistence as The Cranes Are Flying and Ballad of a Soldier.)

Exhibitors plead that they show what will be popular and choose only from what is available. But the question has been asked why the public has suddenly again become so interested in a long-defeated enemy while refusing to face the present one.

POLITICAL FASHION PLATE

Cocktail-party liberalism is becoming the all-important credential for social success in Berkeley circles which like to define themselves as sophisticated.

The proper dose of malice against governmental "inquisitors," a snide reference to "those Birchers" a knowing smirk about race prejudice, are as important tabs on one's intellectual class as the ability to say something new about Proust. With glorious disregard for the assigning of values, the Berkeley liberal somehow regards support of student riots in the same category with espresso coffee and French bread -- one more social amenity.

Recent arrivals in the Bay Area, enamored of the topography and climate, are quickly carried away by the liberal political air as well. Fearful of being taken for Babbitts, they succumb to the prevalent local saw that a realistic appraisal of communism belongs to another era and another region. For the Berkeleyite, to criticize the Soviet Union somehow is to pin on oneself a badge reading "Middle West."

The flourishing radical left-wing political organizations have been quick to sense that this snobism-on-the-make could be exploited, and the new crop of hopeful intellectuals have rallied in support of their causes, now that conservatism has been made socially unacceptable.

* * *

CLARK KERR SETS FORTH THE CONDITIONS FOR FREEDOM

Clark Kerr, President of the University of California and an expert in labor relations, is author of an essay entitled, "Unions and Union Leaders of Their Own Choosing."

The portion of the essay pertinent here lies in the definition of freedom which is implied in the framework of the article. In a brief discussion of limited-function institutions, Kerr points out that an institution which enters into several areas of an individual's life tends to impair his freedoms more than does a specialized institution.

The author says, "Each institution should be narrowly oriented toward its primary function, whether that function is production of goods, or representation of economic interest, or the salvation of souls."

The view of liberty reflected in Kerr's essay is in accord with the purest conceptions of a representative government of divided powers and with the ideals of a free society.

The principle which Kerr clarifies in discussing labor unions is not applied, unfortunately, in the university of which Kerr is head.

Students and staff members alike ought to be able to function in a university setting without being prejudiced by their personal

political beliefs, so long as those beliefs do not become acts of treason against the United States.

But the favored position of left-wingers on the Berkeley campus, at least, has reached such a point that conservative and clear anti-communist activity has been reduced to an absolute minimum.

As for treason, evidence will soon be offered to show that despite Kerr's contentions to the contrary, the University of California does employ communists.

No one disputes the right of university staff members or students to engage in partisan politics. But their right to do so on campus and in their official capacities is a totally different question.

The situation is such now that while only leftist professors take public stands on campus, the few conservative professors hesitate to commit themselves even when away from campus, so much have they been intimidated.

If Kerr sees no abridgement of freedom, it is no doubt because his own partisan viewpoint is not being curtailed. His "directives" are merely a smokescreen and are applied only when pressure is put on him by patriotic citizens.

When Kerr yields to public opinion, he is severely attacked from the left side. How can one of their own so betray them?

Kerr has to dance on a tight rope between his political views and his personal ambitions. This is why he has to yield occasionally to the weight of criticisms from conservatives.

Kerr seems to have only contempt for the public. He refers to letter writers who criticize him as the "vociferous majority."

There is one encouraging fact in the campus situation, however. Some conservatives have decided to fight, and SAAT intends to count itself among them.

A showdown with Khrushchev within the next few months would set a lot of people to thinking more clearly. The people who help the communists with the phrase, "I'm just as much opposed to communism as anybody, but—" and continue with a typical example of the communist line—these people are in for a severe jolt.

Even Clark Kerr may be compelled to make some clear statements of policy to substitute for his customary vague sentences in which one part is in flagrant contradiction with the other.

The Communists are seriously set upon the diversion of our youth, and we must be as seriously determined to defeat their purposes. The Reds have raised the slogan: "Go Marxist, young man, go Marxist," and at the same time set out a detailed program for the penetration of all youth organizations, as is outlined in the proceedings of the committee's meeting published in the Political Affairs for August, 1958.

When we raise the alarm concerning these plots and plans of the Communists to subvert the young people, we do not reflect upon the inherent loyalty or integrity of our youth in general. We know, however, that unless definite and enlightened steps are taken, that a small number of these young people are in danger of becoming concealed Communists and affecting many more with the Communist line. The history of the last twenty-five years has been the history of the American nation, not fully but too largely, being persuaded to adopt the Communist line by means of the non-Communist "transmission belts" which the Communists use ever since Joseph Stalin gave them the instructions to do so in his Foundations of Leninism.

--Richard Cardinal Cushing

ANTI- AND PRO-AMERICANS

by Jules A. Tassi

Recently the newspapers reported the theft of membership lists from 1) the Bay Area Council of Sobell Committees, 345 Franklin Street, San Francisco; 2) Acts for Peace, Berkeley; 3) Lobby for Peace, Berkeley; 4) Slate, Berkeley.

Many patriotic Americans doubtlessly have never even heard of these groups. He can only wonder how many more there are like them.

One would like to ask why any group of people living in the United States would want to protect or help an arch enemy like Sobell to regain his freedom after the great harm he has done America.

In Russia, if the case were reversed, he no doubt would have been promptly shot instead of receiving the comparative leniency of free room, good food, kindness and opportunity for recreation, all at the expense of the people he so gravely injured.

Who are the people who would defend him? Do we not have any government agency to force them to reveal their real names, their places of birth, and their addresses?

* * *

A PECULIAR DISORIENTATION FROM REALITY

A new explanation for the wide acceptance among U.C. undergraduates of anti-HCUA propaganda was offered this week by a Bay Area professional man who asked to remain unnamed.

Youthful absolutism -- the belief that there can exist an area of absolute freedom and absolute purity -- was cited as motivation for the ready acceptance of propaganda against "betrayers" of traditional American liberties.

"Minor errors in sequence in the film Operation Abolition are being used to prove that the whole contention of the film is in error," the informant said. "Inaccuracies in the commentary, admitted by the sponsors of the film, are clearly irrelevant to the wider purpose of the hearings. But so much noise has been made about inconsequential subtleties that young listeners have been tricked into forgetting the real issue."

The reason why this particular pitch has found such a ready response locally, it was stated, is that idealistic adolescents have in general not yet learned that absolutes do not exist, and they accept the word of the pro-communist press that a minute error, when conceded by the government, proves that the whole affair was a fraud.

Feeling betrayed by their government, they expect to redress the balance by demanding total retraction and suspension of all HCUA-type activities.

"Their university training, which for many seems to hold the lesson that political ideas can be held in a vacuum, merely contributes to their willingness to place no limits on the the so-called free expression of ideas."

The speaker termed this the "immaculate conception" view of political beliefs and said there is a need for young people again to be taught to take full responsibility for their opinions.

"Taking responsibility," he said, "means being willing to live with the results of one's views. The student rioters have thus far been concerned only with free expression itself and have paid no heed to the logical consequences of the expression. The result has been a kind of disorientation from reality in this particular sphere."

SMEAR, SPLATTER AND SPLASH

It is more than smear. Call it the splatter tactic — the new pro-communist technique of wholesale leveling of charges against any expression whatever from Americans genuinely informed on the nature of communism.

Nipping in the bud even the mildest opposition to the red conspiracy has assumed the form of frantically crying "fascist."

Ironically, the communists and some duped liberals have for years decried the smearing of their own whenever governmental investigators discovered evidence of communist plotting. Now that segments of Americans are finally awakening to the communist peril, the communist press has gone all out with a mud-slinging campaign of its own in the hope of destroying the opposition before it grows any stronger.

The almost overnight discrediting of the John Birch Society which sent millions of Americans scurrying after imaginary fascist enemies and blinded them once again to the communist threat is the most successful example to date of the red splatter. It reached even patriots of the stature of General Edwin Walker.

The virulence of communist opposition to the John Birch Society is to be measured by the fact that this organization is perhaps the only one existing on a nation-wide scale which does not show evidence of communist infiltration. Whatever the diversity of members' opinions on other issues, the society is united in its opposition to communism. It is thus a priority target for red disparagement.

What elements in the American psychology have permitted the press and public to go along so uncritically with this new communist tack?

As expert students of human psychology, the communist strategists have made a thorough study of those traits in the national character which would aid their propaganda war. Examples of their conclusions:

1) Since they are convinced that we are imbued with a witch-hunt psychology, they have found a ready transmission belt for the use of the term "fascist" or "Nazi". Anyone who raises his voice against prop-communist legislation is compared with Hitler.

2) They have made skilled use of American hypocrisy, which likes to pretend to be on one side of an issue while covertly supporting another. The hypocritical attitude which expresses itself in such utterances as "Of course I'm against communism, but..." and then cites a stream of pro-communist arguments is a major communist asset. In a kind of perversion of the American concept of fair play, Americans refuse to take a clear-cut position on issues which they feel may damage their personal Hooper ratings. The reds have been quick to sense that this moral cowardice could be used to postpone indefinitely any strong opposition to their aims.

3) The sheep-psychology of too many Americans is aiding the red drive. Since the communists understand that most people are only too willing to follow current trends to avoid attracting unfavorable attention, all they need do is create the trend. They have succeeded in fostering the impression that sophisticated people everywhere support "peaceful coexistence," and that only a few rabid conservatives, rapidly diminishing in number, resort to mention of the Soviet enslavement of millions, forced labor camps, red butchery in satellite nations and the dreary living standards in all communist countries.

SAME FENCE; TWO COLORS

Keeping oneself aware of the fact that absolutely anything can be painted in hues of white or black, depending on the bias of the writer, will help America keep awake to the communist threat.

As an example of how the same subject can be both villain and hero, TOCSIN invites readers to compare these two estimates of the role of civic letter writers.

From California Attorney General Stanley Mosk:

Warning that "extremism" from the radical right can be as damaging in a free society as extremism from the radical left, Mosk prepared a check list for keeping watch on extremism. One of the checks is:

"Does it resort to crude pressure tactics by such means as anonymous telephone calls and letter-writing campaigns?"

From Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner and Smith, Inc., New York:

Eloquently expressing the need for acceptance of responsibility and service to community and country, an advertisement in the July 7 Time urges that one undertake some civic task:

"Work to improve your local school or library or hospital... Further a cause you believe in by organizing a group to support it—or at least by taking pen in hand."

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Dear Sir: Here is a copy of a letter which I have sent to William Randolph Hearst, Jr., of The San Francisco Examiner.

Dear Mr. Hearst: As long-time subscribers to The San Francisco Examiner we are rather concerned over the obvious trend the newspaper has been following during the past two years. More and more frequently the editorial page reflects the current of extreme liberalism dedicated to the destruction of American principles. If such attitudes are to be given stature in your newspaper we would appreciate not having them cloaked in flowery high-sounding phrases about the first amendment, the Bill of Rights, freedom, equality and so on, and floating in an aura of the newspaper's traditional reputation for conservatism.

It is apparent to any thinking person that the statements in these editorials are in no way defined or governed by the above-mentioned principles. All too often we have seen articles lifted from the pages of the People's World to be transformed into editorials and other material in The Examiner. Many of the columnists appearing daily or periodically are considerably left of center to say the very least. Kenneth Rexroth is not the least repugnant of these pseudo-intellectuals. As a sop to conservatives who have been complaining bitterly at this turn of events, we are now treated to a thrice weekly column by Barry Goldwater which can scarcely stem the tide or present an adequate stand against the flow of pink and red liberalism reflected throughout the pages of the paper.

I have written to Mr. Ettelson, the editor, about the column "On Your Guard" which appears at irregular intervals. This column, which has not been given any kind of feature status attempts to outline some of the activities of communists and communist fronts in this area for the unsuspecting citizen. This column has been variously placed on the theater page, with the shipping news, and most recently, with the obituaries. I challenge Mr. Ettelson's inference that this column is not news and I also challenge his

contention that it cannot be anchored in any one spot. On the editorial page in the last few days there has been plenty of room for several editorials and many columns about the death of Ernest Hemingway. We have been treated to editorials sympathizing with "unfortunate" Robert Meisenbach, praising that stalwart defender of rioters and reds, Clark Kerr, and a raft of similar less newsworthy incidents of local interest. We have lost count of editorials deriding patriotic Americans who exhibit concern for their country. Mr. Ettelson's standard attack is that anyone disagreeing with him must surely be mentally ill.

In most communities there is a single newspaper or newspaper publisher and that certainly is the way San Francisco is headed. The only reason for two newspapers is for presentation of two points of view. Week by week the Examiner is becoming indistinguishable from the Chronicle and there can be just one result. Liberals already subscribe to the Chronicle and conservatives are turning to the Wall Street Journal and the Oakland Tribune. That, Mr. Hearst, will leave you batting with a pretty sticky wicket.

We are in a life and death struggle with the communists, but according to the Examiner, George Jessel's paternity suit is more important than the 4th of July. The time has come when men and women of principle and courage, who are more concerned about their country and the principles upon which she was founded than any personal considerations, are standing to be counted.

Your papers and your editors can yowl and whine about peace and co-existence and disarmament and foreign aid to communist countries and letting the Federal government do everything for us because we are too incompetent to do it for ourselves, but we, the people, are not going to stand for it.

Your personal editorials concerning problems in Cuba, Latin America, etc., and communism lose their credibility when you allow this seething mess to exist right under your very nose. You should obtain a small pamphlet published by the Patrick Henry League which shows the way the New York Times has been subverted. Don't make the mistake of thinking you are immune or above it.

You have had all the benefits of a free enterprise system. It is your right, duty and obligation to clean up your pink little rag in San Francisco. Having been pushed to the limit of endurance, we are joining the legion of non-subscribers. If you care to bestir yourself and to institute a reform program on the paper, do let us know. -- Cherie Swenson, 715 Oakland Avenue, Oakland, California

Dear Sir:

We welcome those in our press leadership who give recognition of the retreats that the American government has suffered during the past six months, - in Laos; in Cuba, with its continuing buildup of Soviet armament supplies; in acceptance of an unprepared Summit Conference with Khrushchev; in a weakening toward Communist China. Inevitably these retreats cannot add to our reassurance of Free World opposition to Soviet aggression in Berlin.

So it is when our press leadership tells us with admonitory enjoinment that all Americans must stand behind the President in the critical period ahead, we wonder what it is we are called on to do.

We recall the historical retreat of Napoleon from Moscow, when the Old Guard was called on to stand behind the retreating emperor, and fulfilled successfully their commitment with, "the Old Guard dies but does not surrender." But unfortunately for them, the retreats led to Waterloo.

There is an increasing number of Americans who wish to choose to protect our national leadership by heading in the opposite direction - no more retreats. Such Americans seek with unceasing hope an upsurge in our editorial reactions demanding a positive and immediate counteraction against world communism.--Admiral Charles M. Cooke, U.S. Navy, Retired, 3060 Lovall Valley Road, Sonoma, California.

Dear Sir:

We have placed your name on our mailing list as a Life Member at no cost to you.

We are thrilled at the regrowth of conservatism on the campuses of this country, and the courage of our young men and women.--Mrs. Gertrude D. Bale, Chairman, Network of Patriotic Letter Writers, Box 2003 D, Pasadena, California.

* * *

[EDITORIAL COMMENT]

William Mandel, loudest pro-communist voice in the East Bay, spoke softly last week. Compared to his virulent performance as the smoked glasses-wearing, self-styled victim of the HCUA in Operation Abolition, Mandel's pitch before the Oakland Jewish Community Center forum passed for moderation among a partially gullible audience. But to us it sounded like the same old defeatist line: The U.S. is finished; our weapons won't work; let's be realistic and swim with the communist tide.

* * *

Mean old Uncle Sam, responsible for all the world's ills. Notice how the left-wing press successfully aggravates our national guilt feelings (for being successful?) by reminding us that it is our responsibility to initiate, implement and achieve reforms in everything from crop rotation to birth control, everywhere in the world. This at the same time that they scream about U.S. imperialism.

* * *

We hear that a group of U.C. students have initiated plans to form a Bay Area Committee to Abolish the Bay Area Committee to Abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

* * *

The paradox of Berkeley "liberalism" is that the most violent champions of greater civil liberties advocate increased friendliness with the Soviet Union and "realistic" acceptance of its system--the only one dedicated to taking from us all our liberties.

* * *

The "I'll try anything once" reaction explains a part of the appeal held for U.C. students by the leftish pitch. Campus Rebels, a communist pamphlet, attempts to attribute student political activity to their idealism, but no proof has been advanced to show how the opinions of undergraduates have suddenly become so militant that they know exactly how to respond with such expert timing in protestation of injustice. Rather are they responding to a Madison Avenue-type line calculated to stir emotions.

2

MANDEL DECLARES THAT AMERICA IS AT THE END OF HER ROPE

William Mandel, communist news commentator for radio station KPFA in Berkeley, California, was one of two speakers on a forum about Cuba presented at the Jewish Community Center at 3245 Sheffield Avenue, Oakland, California, on July 13, 1961.

Mandel's theme was that America is finished and we need only to recognize that fact and adjust ourselves to it.

His speech was based on the communist "principle" that America will fall because of the inner contradictions of capitalism. He claimed that America's downfall is imminent, and there is nothing we can do about it.

The only friends America has in the world, he declared, are West Germany, Spain and Formosa. Great Britain, traditionally the strongest friend of America, is being swept by pleas for unilateral disarmament.

According to the communist speaker, Americans are being unrealistic in supposing that their country still has a strong voice in world affairs. All such Americans are like the Southern Whites described by a Berkeley Freedom Rider, "Those people until now thought they were reality. . . It is they who represent a minority role," quoted Mandel.

"Foreign policy must be based upon the world as it is," he continued, "American imperialistic exploitation of other countries must cease. The underdeveloped countries will no longer take it. Their attitude poses a threat to the system Americans live under because foreign markets and places for investment abroad are essential to its continuation. Castro is only the first; one after another will rise up after him. And they will succeed."

A look at comparative space achievements will show who is gaining control of the world, Mandel indicated. Furthermore, Americans must be careful because "American missiles will not work, while Soviet intercontinental missiles are precise and accurate; they never miss their target."

In contrast to the opposing speaker, who was sober, factual and ineffectual, Mandel began his speech with an impassioned plea to the audience. He emerged from behind the speakers' rostrum and spoke to the crowd of about 150 with the carefully-studied inflections of an expert propagandist.

He introduced his speech by saying, "I will talk only about the long-range plan. I am not optimistic enough to believe that you will take any immediate action. Only some young people in our colleges will really do anything."

MANDEL, THE HERO, MANDEL, THE HERO-WORSHIPPER

Mandel's statement, "Only some young people in our colleges will really do anything," was of particular interest to SAAT members who were present at his speech. SAAT has always regarded Mandel as its arch-enemy on the campus of the University of California.

Most of the left-wing student leaders have worked at KPFA, where they have been under Mandel's direct influence. This core of students has in its turn been able to lead unsuspecting students into the apparently innocent, pseudo-idealistic activities sponsored by communists: peace marches, demonstrations, protests, picketings, and riots.

Mandel is an ego-maniac who feels that society has never recognized his true merits. He manifests the overwhelming emotional drive

of a person who has been able to identify his personal frustrations and ambitions with those of a dictator. He is a Stalinist disgusted with the weak man now trying to raise himself to the level of Stalin.

SABOTAGE -- ESPIONAGE Subject: William Marx Mandel

(The following information was distributed before Mandel's speech by The Fruitvale School Kids Club, 3205 Boston St., Oakland 2, California)

"William Mandel is a Communist propagandist employed in the radio and television media, who was identified as a Communist Party member by Louis Budenz, August 22, 1951, in testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

"He appeared as a witness on May 13, 1960, and invoked the fifth amendment in refusing to answer questions pertaining to past or present Communist Party Membership." (Quoted from House Report No. 2237, 86th Congress, 2nd Session, page 65).

Civil rights groups usually say they are good Americans, but just don't want questions asked about their political beliefs.

Mr. Mandel appeared on March 25, 1953, before the Senate Internal Subcommittee.

Mr. Mandel's testimony in 1953 was not entirely about his political beliefs, it also was about his ACTIONS for or AGAINST the United States.

Here is the excerpt of Tuesday, March 25, 1953:

"Counsel: Have you ever engaged in Sabotage against the U.S.?"

"Mandel: I refuse to answer that question under my privilege under the fifth amendment not to be a witness against myself.

"Counsel: Do you honestly feel that if you were to tell us truthfully whether you engaged in sabotage against the U.S., that that might tend to incriminate you?"

"Mandel: That might tend to incriminate me but it is in no sense an admission of guilt because the protection of the fifth is designed to protect the innocent, as anyone who knows history knows.

"Counsel: The purpose of the Fifth Amendment is to provide that no man, guilty or innocent, need appear as a witness against himself. It has been used in this country largely to protect the individual against being required to testify against himself. We find now, Mr. Mandel, men like you are using it not to protect the individual but to protect a conspiracy. That is not the intention of the provision. However, you are entitled to invoke that if you tell the committee that you honestly feel that a truthful answer as to whether you have ever engaged in espionage might tend to incriminate you.

"Mandel: I have given the committee that answer and I stand by it.

"Counsel: Have you ever engaged in espionage against the United States?"

"Mandel: I refuse to answer, under my privilege under the fifth amendment, not to testify against myself."

Mandel could have simply answered, "No." Or could he?

The marketplace of thought is no longer free when competitors may enter it anonymously and fight democracy while they hide under the cloak of democracy.--Morris Ernst

TOCSIN is written and distributed by Students Associated Against Totalitarianism, an independent organization, Box 784, Berkeley 1, California. Charles Fox, Chairman. Phone THornwall 3-8832. Subscriptions \$1.00 for ten issues. Editor.....George Keith

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we can see how far we have fallen the victims of the Communist line when we consider that today we are discussing the question of Berlin, which we permitted in the name of "peace" to be surrounded by Soviet controlled East German territory, instead of discussing, as we should, the liberation of the Polish, Hungarian--the Tibetan--peoples. --Richard Cardinal Cushing

AN ADVENTURE IN PRACTICAL POLITICS - A PREVIEW OF THE FUTURE?

SAAT was among those passing out literature outside the Jewish Community Center in East Oakland prior to the appearance of William Mandel.

SAAT members distributed a handbill bearing the TOCSIN masthead which stated the aims of SAAT and reproduced the article appearing in TOCSIN I, 4, entitled MANDEL EQUALS WILKINSON BUT U.C. IS WITHOUT EQUAL.

The reaction to SAAT's modest endeavor did not lack a certain violence. One couple paused long enough to shout: "We will take Khrushchev before you any day. What have the communists ever done that is wrong? Were you out passing leaflets against Hitler?"

Others shouted, "Fascists" and "What is this, the new Nazi Party?"

At least one-third of the audience, however, was composed of people who had gone to protest Mandel's appearance.

This group challenged Mandel forcefully and drew sharp retorts from Mandel and from the audience, some of the members of which yelled "Shut up" to protestors.

One man asked Mandel: "Mr. Mandel, Sir, don't you think these people can be compared with the Brown Shirts of early Nazi Germany?" Mandel exploited this lickspittle bit for all it was worth. He referred to his detractors as a whole as "John Birchers."

A fight almost broke out between Mandel and one member of the audience. This man is said to have once passed out some leaflets before a hall in which Mandel was to deliver a speech to a communist front group. Asked who wrote the text of the leaflet, the gentleman responded nonchalantly, "William Mandel." Mandel subsequently found himself speaking before a hostile Red audience.

It was evidently this event to which Mandel referred in some harsh words about the gentleman in question. He and Mandel took a few threatening steps toward each other, but both stopped. Mandel knew he was out-contested.

Will bitterness and conflict among Americans continue and even increase until the final solution against communism is reached? This tragic experience seems inevitable, for loyal Americans cannot stand idly by and see their nation and their values subverted and destroyed by traitors.

*TOCSIN has no evidence that this is a true story. We reprint it purely for its beauty.

STUDENTS ASSOCIATED AGAINST TOTALITARIANISM is an organization of students attending the University of California at Berkeley. The purpose of SAAT is to alert the public, particularly students, to the true nature of communism and the imminent danger which it poses to the life of our country.

SAAT stands for freedom, the genuine freedom which we can continue to possess if we do not permit our values to be subverted and our nation handed over to a foreign dictator.

SAAT believes that communism is not a legitimate political philosophy, but a conspiracy, a cloak used by a few ruthless men to gain absolute power.

SAAT, an independent organization, is eager to cooperate with any group which is uncompromisingly opposed to communism.

SAAT depends for its support upon patriotic citizens.

SAAT's activities are conducted by unsalaried students in their spare time.

In coming issues:
 THE COMMUNIST BACKGROUND OF UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
 PROFESSORS
 THE COMMUNIST BACKGROUND OF PROFESSORS AT THE PACIFIC
 SCHOOL OF RELIGION IN BERKELEY
 THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA POLICY TOWARD PUBLIC SPEAKERS
 RACE PREJUDICES IN THE SOVIET UNION
 THE COMMUNIST INTERPRETATION OF THE CAUSES OF WORLD WAR II
 COMMUNISM IN THE CHURCHES
 COMMUNIST LAWYERS IN THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

The only alternative to a free society is a regimented society--a society ruled by brute force imposed from the top by a small elite. In Russia the overwhelming power of brute force is no longer questioned; in other states it is very thinly disguised.--James Guthrie

Communism comes within the competence of the police, not history.--
 Lorenz Stein, Cologne Germany, 1857.

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UC ASSAILED AS 'WESTERN CAPITOL OF COMMUNISM'

'Conservatives Fear Reprisals By Liberal Profs'

Professors and graduate students have been deliberately transferred to the University of California campus for the purpose of inciting left-wing political action.

That is the charge made by Charles Fox, 39, of 2325 Channing Way, an associate in the speech department at UC and chairman of a new student group called Students As-

sociated Against Totalitarianism.

Fox spoke at the Berkeley High Twelve Club.

"There is no academic freedom on the UC campus despite the loud noises made by President Kerr," Fox said.

Attacking the faculty, he charged that "not one professor has made one statement against communism during the past

10-4-58 S. J. A. C. J.

KERR REPORT

He blasted a recent report by Kerr in which he said he had found no evidence that UC students are being influenced by communism.

"Berkeley has almost become the Communist capital of the United States," Fox charged.

He said the conservative student is afraid to speak out on campus because he fears persecution from "liberal" professors who may hand out lower grades.

LOSS OF FRIENDS

Fox said he had "lost friends and been insulted" after writing a letter to the Daily Californian last fall reporting on his trip to the Soviet Union. He said he was disillusioned by the Soviet system.

Fox lashed out at alleged "red dupes" on campus who serve as unwitting tools of the Communist Party. He called for an alert citizenry who will know "how to identify communist propaganda" and those who spread it.

Turning to SLATE, an organization of students, which was banned temporarily last June as an on-campus activity, Fox said no real change had really been made.

'SAME OLD SPEAKERS'

"We'll be hearing the same old speakers this fall," he warned.

He further charged that "most SLATE leaders are under the influence of William Mandel, a radio commentator who was subpoenaed by the House Un-American Activities Committee last year and appeared in the controversial "Operation Abolition" film dealing with San Francisco City Hall riots during the committee's hearings.

He said "brainwashing on campus" had turned many people against the film.

"Empty-headed little girls who never thought about anything but being beautiful gave me arguments against the film that sounded as if they'd been prepared by a lawyer," he added.

Fox said his group, Students Associated Against Totalitarianism, is "purely anti-communistic."

DIRECTOR, FBI

8/9/61

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-47681)

STUDENTS ASSOCIATED AGAINST
COMMUNISM (SAAC)
INFORMATION CONCERNING
INTERNAL SECURITY

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ReBulet 6/26/61.

A review of the San Francisco files reflects that on Tuesday, 6/13/61, the "San Francisco News-Call Bulletin", a San Francisco daily newspaper, published an article on page 5 in columns 3-4 entitled "SLATE Ouster Before Burns Report -- UC", which stated that a group known as SLATE had been ousted from campus recognition for claiming that it was a legitimate political party. The University of California prohibits campus organizations from referring to themselves as political organizations.

The last paragraph of the article stated that "Another student group, Students Associated Against Communism", demanded to be admitted to the UC campus on the same basis, if SLATE is reinstated.

[redacted] of the group (SAAC),
[redacted]
complained that the university won't even give it off campus recognition." There was no other identifying information concerning [redacted] in the article.

No San Francisco informants have reported on the SAAC or [redacted] in this connection.

San Francisco informants have furnished literature issued by the "Students Associated Against Totalitarianism" (SAAT), which is also [redacted]. Neither the informants nor the literature show any connection between the [redacted] of SAAC and the [redacted] of the SAAT.

It is not known if they are identical.

As per Bureau letter, no active investigation is being conducted and this case is being closed with this letter.

- 2 - Bureau (AM REG.)
- 3 - San Francisco (100-47681)
- 1 - 100-47243 (SAAT)

Searched
Serialized
Indexed
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PHM/ar
(5)

100-47243-9

Talk Set on Pro-Leftists At University

Communist activity at the University of California will be discussed by Charles Fox, speech instructor on the Berkeley campus, in a talk before the Oakland Republican Assembly Tuesday.

George T. Lundquist, president of the unit, said the meeting will be at the Hotel Leanington, starting at 7:30 p.m.

The program has been arranged by Miss Bernice Lee.

Fox is director of Students Associated Against Totalitarianism, a new organization of U.C. students formed to combat left-wing elements on the campus. He has visited the Soviet Union twice and is regarded as an expert on communistic influences.

A graduate of California, Fox has also attended the University of Mexico and the University of Paris. He is now a candidate for a doctorate in linguistics.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 70-4-88 BY SP1AG/fe
291-732

OAKLAND TRIBUNE
Oakland, California

Date: 8-31-61
Edition: RED STREAK
City Editor: FRANK WOOTTEN
Publisher: JOSEPH R.
KNOWLAND

Case:

Classification:

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
AUG 31 1961	
FBI - SAN FRANCISCO	

100-47293-10

7 September 1961

Sir:

Yesterday, 6 September 1961, I received enclosed copy of TOCSIN in the mail. Some person or persons that know I am retired from the Army evidently put me on their mailing list.

I don't know whether it is on the subversive list or not, and have decided to let your office know about this organization.

I retired from the Army [redacted] [redacted] after [redacted] years service, in the grade of [redacted] and am presently employed at [redacted] in [redacted] which is working government contracts. I do not wish to be tied in with any do gooders, ^{or no gooders} which are Anti-American in any shape or form.

Sincerely,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-4-88 BY SP1AG/SC

291-732

[redacted]
[redacted]

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
SEP 8 1961	
FBI - SAN FRANCISCO	

100-47243-11

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

b6
b7C

TO : SAC (100-47243)

DATE: 9/8/61

(65)

FROM : SA Francis J. Collopy, Jr.

SUBJECT: STUDENTS ASSOCIATED AGAINST TOTALITARIANISM
SM-C

[redacted] on 9/7/61, telephonically contacted this office requesting information regarding the possible Communist Association with the above captioned organization. He stated that he had received newspaper published by this organization and called "TOCSIN". He does not know how he came to be on this organization's list, but felt that if his name became connected with any group with CP leanings his job at [redacted] might be in jeopardy.

He stated that the following list of officers were noted on page nine of this paper:

[redacted]

The organization can be contacted through Box 784, Berkeley 1, Calif., or through phone THornwall 3-8832.

[redacted] stated that he would send this newspaper to this office and on 9/8/61 a letter was received from him along with a copy of TOCSIN.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 10-4-88 BY SP1 AG JC

291-732

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
SEP - 8 1961	
FBI - SAN FRANCISCO	

100-47243-12

TOCSIN

STUDENTS ASSOCIATED AGAINST TOTALITARIANISM

Berkeley, Calif.

Vol. I, No. 9

LOOK FOR THE SILVER LINING IN ALL THOSE RED CLOUDS

The American craze for "objectivity," which some observers see as the national illness, reached new heights of absurdity last week in a statement by California Attorney General Stanley Mosk, reported in the Oakland Tribune.

Mosk declared that temptation is great today to "assign all evil to the enemy, and arrogate all virtue to ourselves." He further predicted the eventual downfall of the John Birch Society through internecine warfare. (Some TOCSIN readers have wondered whether this was a prognosis or a wish.)

Now that Mosk has revealed to us the cause of all the trouble, SAAT members have set to work assigning evil to us for a change and looking for the hidden virtue in such Soviet declarations as:

"We will bury you."

"We will shoot down your planes if you try an airlift in Berlin."

"You will fall like an overripe fruit into our hands."

But thus far we have felt no relief whatever, nor has the world situation brightened perceptibly.

Given our obvious inability to apply Mosk's equal-time-for-equal-transcriber criterion, we only wish that Mosk would himself set up residence in the Soviet paradise and report to us more explicitly on those merits of communism which we have been overlooking.

Meanwhile, we will apply his counsel on the local level by advising the little old lady down the street whose house was burglarized recently that she should quit being so righteous and start loving those burglars.

Nothing like being fair. *****

THE "STOLEN" RECORDS

A note from a reader points out what is commonly believed to be the reason why membership lists were reported stolen from a number of pro-communist organizations in California.

He writes, "These thefts occurred at a time when the Supreme Court had decided that registration of communists was to be the law, and before Justice Frankfurter granted the summer grace period."

"If the authorities ever ask for membership lists from these organizations, it can now be said that 'they were stolen.' Our new law then has been neatly circumvented."

From WASHINGTON REPORT by Congressman James B. Utt (August 3, 1961): "The President continues to keep his head in the sand as regards any internal communist subversion which in fact is a far greater crisis today than Berlin is or ever has been. To make sure that this subversion is not impeded, the Administration has instructed the entire military establishment that none of its men or officers can participate in any anti-communist schools or study groups which have conservative leanings. It has even denied the use of a military band for a joint demonstration of 37 cities in Los Angeles County against communism unless they remove the film, "Communism on the Map" from the program

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291-732

100-47243-13

EDITORIAL COMMENT

We have received a score of requests recently for back issues of TOCSIN. Since there are unfortunately none of the early issues presently available, we have decided to use this as a pretext to reprint in future TOCSINs articles which have aroused interest.

A clipping sent in by a Santa Rosa subscriber, datelined Ottawa, states that "Canada's 1961 civil-defense exercise has been named 'Tocsin' after the alarm bell rung in French villages.

In a radio interview Bertrand Russell states that the West must not insist upon the self-determination of nations held captive by the Soviets. The reason they must not, according to Russell, is that such demands "are the things which the Russians hate most." We must do everything we can not to offend the communists; If we can learn to be sufficiently servile, perhaps they will leave a few of us alive to be their slaves.

Communist propaganda likes to concentrate on our past (it is sordid) and on their future (it is like the most beautiful dream). It likes to talk about the means we use (they are criminal) and the ends they seek (they justify criminal acts, so long as they advance communism).

The cry that "communism must be respected because there are a billion communists in the world" is nonsense. There are not a billion communists in the world. The truth is quite different: there are a billion human beings enslaved to communists.

A note on American aid: a division of work has set in between the USSR and the United States, which will rapidly bring the former to crush the latter. The United States supplies foodstuffs, the Soviets propaganda. The United States builds schools to teach the alphabet to underdeveloped peoples; the USSR prints anti-American newspapers these people will be able to read. The United States builds hospitals; the Soviets staff them with communist nurses who will indoctrinate the patients.

We have been advised to take it easy, not offend anyone, and "get the majority of the public on your side." Let it be known that the moment we think we have the majority of the public on our side, we are going out of operation. At that time we will feel that our purpose has been fulfilled.

We are not politicians. We are simply patriots who feel that there is a job which has to be done and we do not see anyone else doing it. If some event occurs which will awaken the American public to the danger we face, we will be only too happy to return to enjoying life again.

We note that Trinity Methodist Church Wesley Foundation in Berkeley was absent from the list of four organizations which provided their facilities for the Slate Conference 29-30 July, though they had permitted Slate to use their meeting room for Communist Editor Herbert Aptheker the week before. This time Slate was able to meet at Stiles Hall (YMCA), which served as conference center, Plymouth House of the Congregational Church, Westminster House of the Presbyterian Church, and the Lutheran Student Center.*****

A Communist Viewpoint--

GERMAN AND ZIONIST DEALERS

(This article is reprinted from the Soviet propaganda journal, New Times, July 19, 1961, published in Moscow)

Hungary, 1944. Hitler rules the country. The Gestapo dictates the laws, shatters the culture of the nation, throttles the people. Eichman prepares to exterminate 600,000 Hungarian Jews.

The leaders of the Jewish community and agents of an international Zionist organization set up a Committee for Aid and Rescue in Budapest to tear the doomed victims out of the clutches of the nazis and get them out of the country. Heading the committee are three Zionist leaders: Kastner, Brand and Springman. These three, for some reason, are not troubled by the Gestapo.

Kastner gets in touch with Eichmann and enters into negotiations with him. On April 25 Eichmann makes Brand an offer: he will exchange the lives of one million Jews for 10,000 lorries to be obtained from the Western Allies. Kastner finds the price reasonable: only one lorry for 100 lives.

"Goods against money, money against Jews," Eichmann tells the Zionist leader. "What do you want--merchandise or blood?"

Kastner agrees and promises in return to do all he can to persuade the Jewish population of Hungary to keep calm and refrain from revolt.

In the same month the Gestapo lets Brand out of Hungary. In Aleppo (Syria) Brand meets Scharett, the head of the political department of the Zionist organization, later to become Prime Minister of Israel. Scharett approves the deal between Kastner and Eichmann.

After that Kastner hands over to Eichmann's assistant, Kurt Becher, three suitcases of diamonds and other valuables. That Becher now lives unmolested in Bremen, in Western Germany, where he is known as a wealthy businessman. Eichmann places at Kastner's disposal a special train in which, with the permission of the Gestapo, 1,600 Jews are carried out of Hungary into neutral countries. Who are these 1,600? Relatives and friends of the Zionist leaders, and employees of the Zionist organization. These are saved.

The rest of the Jews are left in Hungary and end up in the death camps. In 53 days Eichmann's office destroys 600,000 of them--at the rate of ten or twelve thousand a day. But until the moment they are seized these doomed thousands "keep calm." They trust their Zionist leaders who have advised them to have patience, not to resist, not to revolt, to await their rescue quietly. To one of the doomed men, who was being sent to the Theresienstadt camp, Kastner says:

"Don't worry, you're going to a good place."

By the time these poor people realize what is happening, it is too late. They are already in the camps. One after the other, unarmed, stripped naked, they are placed in line for death. Many refuse to die on their knees and meet death proudly. These are not privileged Zionists loaded with diamonds. In the Yanowska camp SS men invite thirty girls to go to bed with them. The girls prefer death. Thirty bullets sent through the back of their heads end their lives.

"Many times it happened," testified witness Wilecki at the trial, "that women spat in the faces of their executioners before dying."

The whole executive committee of the international Zionist organization is not worth the little finger of any of those women.

(continued on next page)

In the Warsaw ghetto, with the SS forming a cordon around it, the Jews started an uprising early in 1943. Testifies Mrs. Lubetkin-Zuckermann:

"I saw thousands of Germans surrounding the ghetto with machine guns. . . . We knew they would conquer us, but for our lives they would pay a high price. . . . On the first day, we few, with our poor arms, drove the Germans from the ghetto. Of course they came back. They came with tanks, and we set fire to them. . . . That day hundreds of Germans fell. . . ."

There is no comparing Kastner to such people. When the facts of the betrayal by Kastner and his group came up at the trial in Jerusalem pandemonium broke loose. From the public gallery Sandor Szilasi, who had lost all his dear ones in Hungary, cried out:

"You comforted us. You hindered us from fleeing to save yourselves and your families!"

The judge had to pound his gavel hard to restore order.

All this has gone into the record. And in Eichmann's notes, which have also been submitted to the court, it is stated that without the aid of Zionist leaders like Kastner he, Eichmann, would not have been able to carry out this "assignment."

"... I believe," Eichmann repeated at the trial, "the Zionists would have to say that I helped their work along."

And it looks as if in secret, among themselves, they do so admit. That, perhaps, is why they prefer not to talk about certain things and certain persons.

The story of the Eichmann-Kastner negotiations reads like a cheap horror story written by an author devoid of even a shred of talent, like the ravings of a person in delirium. It is hard to believe that anything like it could happen even in a motion picture, let alone in real life. Yet it is a fact. It may be taken as proved that Eichmann and the Zionist leadership carried on business deals during the war. The nazis traded in the gases of Oswiecim, the Zionists in their fellowmen. Each strove to outwit the other. And it was the Gestapo that succeeded. It sold the lives of 1,600 Zionists for three suitcases of precious stones, and got the lives of 600,000 Hungarian Jews in the bargain.

This is all past history? Yes, seventeen years have gone by. Those who died at Oswiecim, Majdanek, Treblinka, Theresienstadt cannot be brought back to life. Kastner was killed by his own countrymen in Israel in 1956. (Brand is still alive and gave evidence at the trial. But in a way, what is happening behind the scenes in Jerusalem today brings back that past. Again a deal is being made. German and Zionist traders are again facing each other across a table. And though this time they are bartering honour, not lives, and payment is in dollars, not blood, the principle is the same. As Aryan Gestapo chief Eichmann put it in the first place: "Goods against money."

... Professor Trevor-Roper of Oxford University remarked recently that if the details of nazi-Zionist co-operation during the war are disclosed, the Eichmann trial may well become the Ben-Gurion trial. Apparently, with Bonn and Tel Aviv it is a case of each shielding the other. . . . It is not a matter of Eichmann alone. He who sits in the glass cage cannot be considered a member of human society. Eichmann reeks of the decaying remains of the millions he and his accomplices murdered. But from those who are now deciding his fate comes the unpleasant odour of thirty pieces of silver.

Education is a weapon whose effect depends upon the one who holds it in his hands, and the one who is struck down by it. --Stalin, 1934.

ARE YOU SATISFIED WITH AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY?

It is time for us to make up our minds. Are there communists in high places in our government? Or are we the stupidest people who ever lived?

The National Economic Council, Inc., 156 Fifth Avenue, Suite 1100 New York 10, is circulating the following petition:

PETITION TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS--

For some years past our foreign policy has been against the best interests of the United States and has caused this country irreparable harm.

China and Cuba are two outstanding examples. To quote Senators James O. Eastland and Thomas J. Dodd, respectively Chairman and Vice Chairman of the Senate Sub-Committee on Internal Security, in a statement in the press last September:

"Cuba was handed to Castro and the communists by a combination of Americans in the same way that China was handed to the communists. The responsibility for these decisions appears to rest with the State Department, principally with lower level officials.

Who are these individuals? Are they merely innocent misguided persons? Or are alien influences operating among them? At any rate the country is in dire danger.

Representative Daniel J. Flood of Pennsylvania said in an address delivered in June, 1960:

"The condition clearly calls for a housecleaning of such elements in the Department of State, and their replacement with officials more conscious of their oath of office, which binds them to support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic, as well as the just and indispensable rights and authority of the Congress."

The time for a thorough investigation and for such a housecleaning is long past due. As American citizens we demand that it be made thoroughly and as promptly as possible.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL HAS KINDLY SENT US COPIES OF THIS PETITION WHICH WE SHALL BE HAPPY TO FORWARD TO OUR READERS ON REQUEST.

CITIZENS TO STRENGTHEN THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES, Box 1361, San Mateo, California, has issued the following request:

CULTURAL EXCHANGE? Let's take a look at the article "American Bar Association Speaks" from the Congressional Record of February 25, 1959. The ABA states:

Nikita Khrushchev's famous report of 1956 lists cultural and business exchanges as one of these developments which will bring about the growing weakness of the United States and advance world socialism. On June 2, 1957, Khrushchev appeared on American television screens and called for a wider exchange of cultural delegations.

The primary activity of every one of Moscow's cultural delegates while in this country is to promote the Communist world revolution. E.H. Cockridge, former British Secret Service agent and an authority on Soviet espionage, had this to say:

"Every Soviet football team, every athlete competing at an international sport event, Soviet scientists attending a congress abroad, the Moscow Ballet performing in a western capital or a group of Soviet artists at a film festival are invariably accompanied by special agents of the Soviet secret police."

(continued on next page)

Judge Robert Morris, who spent the last 17 years intensively studying and exposing the Communist conspiracy, said: "In past years of the exchange, secret police have passed as farmers, ice skaters, clergymen, and scientists, for the purpose of conducting espionage operation in this country."

AFL-CIO President George Meany said, on cultural exchange, "No believer in the basic principles of free trade unionism could today conceivably desecrate these principles by undertaking to visit a country whose tyrannical leadership has for the 40 years of its existence been the avowed and uncompromising enemy of all human rights."

What can you do to stop this treasonous activity?

Write your Congressman, your Senator, and the President to call a halt at once to this Trojan horse exchange program.

California Attorney General Stanley Mosk's attack on the John Birch Society reminds us of something which has been bothering us for a long time. We wish the communists would decide once and for all on the line they are going to take:

- 1) The John Birch Society must be attacked because it is too smug about America;
- 2) The John Birch Society must be attacked because its criticisms of America are too violent.

Newest addition to the ranks of pressure groups are students. This is the honor conferred upon them by U.C. President Clark Kerr's "Special Report No. 1," which argues against the suppression of unorthodox views because "instead of reducing the influence of such groups, such action could arouse in students greater sympathy for and interest in the persons and ideas which are denied the campus forum."

All parents will recognize here the principle of what junior wants, junior gets; above all, he must not scream. Or to put it another way, let us go back to the narcotics analogy which has been used by so many people for so many different aims: we must let junior try just one fix--and trust to his good judgment that it won't become a habit.

The August 5 communist weekly People's World features a blast by Mason Roberson at American industrialists. According to Roberson, American industrialists have been shown to be expendable because of "the dizzying speed of industrial growth in the socialist countries."

Is this the dizzying speed we saw last summer in Moscow, socialist capital of the world, where laborers were still lined up at midnight for haircuts? Where the private homes we visited provided no bathrooms? Where there was no meat on most days even for that "non-existent" middle class, who alone could have afforded it? Where citizens responded to our statements that Americans do own their own cars, by "Oh, go on! Tell us another!"?

SAAT expects a smear attack from the communists soon. We will be pictured as a group which has been working under cover and the communists will "expose" us for what we really are. It will be charged that we are a front group for "extreme right-wing organizations" and that we are under orders from groups which are not students. We will be accused of being racists and fascists. The attack will be an attempt to smash us with one blow.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:

Dear Sir:

It has come to my attention that you have circulated to the membership of Trinity Methodist Church a mimeographed statement in which my character is defamed by the implication that I am, if not a Communist, at least a "fellow traveler." The statement is false. If I were not leaving on August 8 for a European trip planned some months ago, legal action would be taken.

You state on the authority of M.G. Lowman that I am listed in 19 Communist Front groups. Mr. Lowman is the secretary of the reactionary unofficial Methodist group calling themselves the Circuit Riders, and he has repeatedly attacked Methodist leaders with similar unwarranted charges.

A few months ago I obtained a list of the affiliations with which Mr. Lowman was charging me. Most of these were signatures rather than memberships and they fell into four groups: (1) bona fide organizations and projects which have never been regarded by any responsible person as Communist Front activities; (2) two organizations which I formerly belonged to, but became somewhat suspicious of, and immediately withdrew from; (3) statements I knew about but had refused to sign; (4) statements I had never heard of. Mr. Lowman's charges are based mainly on The Daily Worker, which like every other Communist organ lies freely whenever it finds it convenient to do so.

I have consistently for many years spoken and written in opposition to Communism. If you wish to know my position you will find it stated on page 139 of my book The Modern Rival of Christian Faith in these words:

Wherever it goes, new forms of oppression emerge. Freedom is stifled; human life is cheap; mutual trust breaks down to the point where there are no common moral assumptions. Infiltration and the spread of propaganda by clever deception are practiced until the moment comes to take over authority by political and if necessary by military power. These practices make communism the most dangerous foe, not only of Christianity, but of freedom in the world today.

Does this sound as if I were a "fellow traveler"? If not, then your statement is a plain case of libel, subject to action in the courts. You may expect such action on my return if you continue to spread such defamatory statements.

More serious than any injury to my personal reputation are the charges you make against the Pacific School of Religion and Trinity Methodist Church. This is serious because, in your attempt to discredit and divide such Christian groups, you not only falsify the facts but you play directly into the hands of the Communists.--

Georgia Harkness, Pacific School of Religion, 1798 Scenic Avenue, Berkeley 9, California. ***

A REPLY TO DR. HARKNESS by Charles Fox

Dr. Harkness' letter contains several distortions and inaccuracies (there are two in the first paragraph alone), but I refuse to be drawn into this game in which valuable time and energy is consumed in denials of irresponsible statements.

Copyright laws forbid quotation at length. It should be pointed out, however, that Dr. Harkness quotes from a paragraph which begins with this fantastic statement:

"In practice communism appears actually to do a better job
(continued on next page)

on the race question than do Christian cultures, for there is less race discrimination within Russia than in the United States."

I challenge Dr. Harkness to produce even one shred of evidence to prove this contention.

Her statement whitewashes the most evil regime which has ever enslaved man.

She continues, "The fact, also, that communism gets a foothold wherever people are hungry, as in central Europe and the Orient today, is evidence not easily cast aside that in some measure it fulfills its object of bringing economic goods and new hope to the downtrodden and oppressed."

Evidently, according to Dr. Harkness, people invite communism and they retain it because it feeds them so well. In what country is this, Dr. Harkness?

In what communist country is there hope today?

The next paragraph of Dr. Harkness' text contains these two statements:

"To get hysterical about communism and try to crush it by its own methods is both to stifle democracy and encourage communism's growth" and

"There is not much danger that communism will seize America."

CONCERNING DR. GEORGIA HARKNESS

(The following article is a portion of an article which appeared in TOCSIN I, 7. We are reproducing it here because many of our present readers -- our subscription list doubles with almost every issue -- may not have seen it.)

The "Appeal to the President on Behalf of Morton Sobell" of 1960 was signed by three prominent professors at the Pacific School of Religion in Berkeley.

They are Dr. Georgia Harkness, Professor of Applied Theology; Dr. C. Douglas Hayward, Lecturer in Methodist History and Polity; and Dr. Harland E. Hogue, Carl Patton Professor of Homiletics.

According to 2109 Methodist Ministers by M.G. Lowman, Dr. Harkness is listed in 19 communist-front groups, including the Christmas Amnesty Plea for Communists Convicted under the Smith Act, the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act, the Rosenberg Clemency Appeal and several communist world peace activities.

The California Un-American Activities Committee for 1949 lists her as one of those sending greetings to the women of the Soviet Union on March 8, 1949, as one who urged a Truman interview with Joseph Stalin, and as one of the sponsors of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace. She is listed in 1960 as a member of Californians Against Capital Punishment. She has repeatedly called for the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

She has recently been on the Advisory Council of Acts for Peace and Californians Against Capital Punishment.

Texas Quakers Repudiate American Friends Committee. Local Quakers in this area and The Friendswood Quaker Church voted unanimously to disown the American Friends Service Committee as their Relief Agency. They leveled charges that the Committee was "furthering Communist propaganda," that speakers brought to their meetings were of "extreme left-wing leanings" and many had "citations against them by the House Committee on Un-American Activities." The Committee was charged as doing a disservice to the Quaker faith.--Houston Post, August 28, 1960

TOCSIN is written and distributed by Students Associated Against Totalitarianism, an independent organization, Box 784, Berkeley 1 California. Charles Fox, Chairman. Phone THornwall 3-8832. Subscriptions \$1.00 for ten issues. Editor George Keith

Recommended Reading:

ROOSEVELT'S ROAD TO RUSSIA, by George N. Crocker, Regnery Press, 1959. This book deals with Roosevelt's summit conferences from 1941 to 1945.

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Box 784
Berkeley 1, Calif.

I wish to subscribe to TOCSIN and enclose the sum of \$1.00 for ten issues.

I enclose a contribution of _____ for your work.

Name
Street.....
City..... (Zone)

FURTHER INFORMATION CONCERNING DR. GEORGIA HARKNESS

According to public records, Dr. Georgia Harkness has been affiliated with the following enterprises:

- 1) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (cited as subversive and communist by the Attorney General of the United States) -- signer of open letter for -- The Lamp, August 1949; page 1.
- 2) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- signer of open letter for -- The Worker, August 13, 1950, page 8.
- 3) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- sponsor -- Daily Worker, April 4, 1951, page 8.
- 4) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- sponsor of 20th anniversary -- letterhead, October 22, 1951.
- 5) Brief Amici Curiae -- signer of brief filed with the U.S. Supreme Court on behalf of the Communist Party -- October Term 1955.
- 6) Chicago Ad Hoc Committee of Welcome for the Dean of Canterbury -- member -- folder, November 1948.
- 7) China Welfare Appeal -- sponsor -- letterhead, September 12, 1950.
- 8) China Welfare Appeal -- sponsor -- letterhead, January 22, 1951.
- 9) Christian Leaders in Good Friday Message Attacking the Atlantic Pact -- signer of -- press release, April 15, 1949.
- 10) Christmas Amnesty Plea for Communists Convicted Under the Smith Act -- signer of -- New York Times, December 21, 1955, page 20.
- 11) Committee for Peaceful Alternatives -- signer of letter for -- letterhead, March 30, 1950.
- 12) Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact -- signer of statement for -- press release, December 14, 1949.
- 13) Hiroshima Commemorative Committee -- sponsor -- letterhead, July 21, 1955.
- 14) International Women's Day -- sent greetings to Soviet women -- Daily Worker, March 8, 1949, page 7.
- 15) International Workers Order -- signer of brief amici curiae on behalf of -- Daily Worker, June 18, 1951, page 8.
- 16) Methodist Federation for Social Action -- nominee of -- Social Questions Bulletin, February-March 1949, pages 46-48.
- 17) Mid-Century Conference for Peace -- sponsor -- Call, May 29-30, 1950.
- 18) Mid-Century Conference for Peace -- initiating sponsor -- letterhead, June 19, 1950.
- 19) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Acts -- signer of open letter for -- letter, November 14, 1955. (continued next page)

- 20) National Conference to Defend the Bill of Rights -- sponsor -- letterhead, October 10, 1950.
- 21) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship -- signer of statement for -- Daily Worker, February 17, 1949, page 4.
- 22) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions -- sponsor of the "Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace" -- program, March 25-27, 1949.
- 23) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions -- signer of statement asking the quashing of the indictment of W.E.B. DuBois -- Daily Worker, June 29, 1951, page 1.
- 24) National Women's Appeal for the Rights of the Foreign Born -- signer of -- Daily Worker, May 18, 1951, pages 3 and 9.
- 25) Rosenberg Clemency Appeal -- signer of -- press release, February 13, 1953.
- 26) Statement Defending the Communist Party -- signer of -- Daily Worker, March 2, 1941, page 2.
- 27) Statement Endorsing Publication and Distribution of the Report of Seven Clergymen who visited Yugoslavia -- signer of -- press release, October 31, 1947.
- 28) Statement Urging Truman Meeting with Stalin -- signer of -- Daily Worker, February 17, 1949, page 4.
- 29) World Peace Appeal -- signer of Stockholm Pledge under the auspices of the Peace Information Center -- leaflet, August 31, 1950.

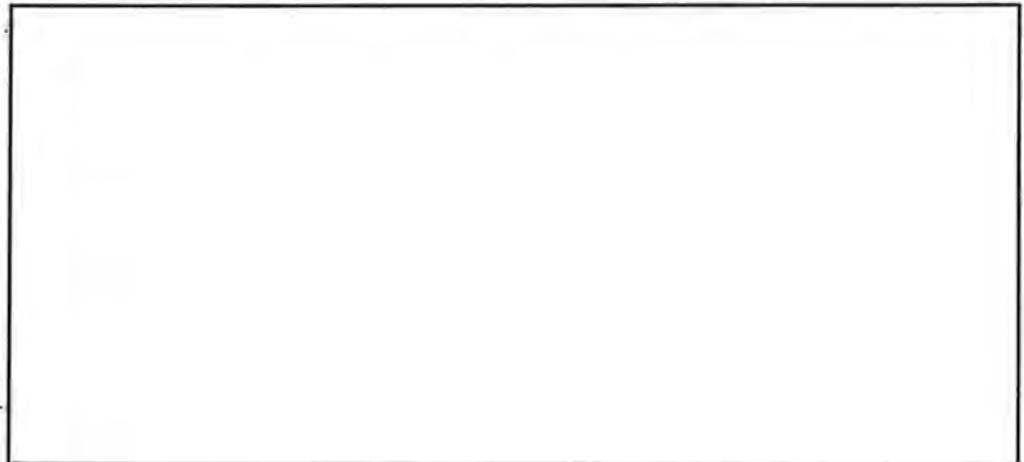
The obvious question presents itself: If the communist press lied about Dr. Harkness, does she intend to sue it along with us?

In our next issue, more FURTHER INFORMATION CONCERNING DR. GEORGIA HARKNESS. This will include her statement that one of the chief enemies of Christianity today is anti-communism.

Students Associated
Against Totalitarianism
Box 784
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STUDENTS ASSOCIATED AGAINST TOTALITARIANISM

STUDENTS ASSOCIATED AGAINST TOTALITARIANISM

Berkeley, California

Vol. I, No. 10

A LONGER LOOK AT COLLEGE DAYS

A lead article in the San Francisco Chronicle of August 13, bearing the headline, "A Long Look at College Days," states, "A research group at the University of California in Berkeley is asking thousands of college students questions on sex, religion, communism and their families."

The article quotes Dr. Burton Clark of the Center for the Study of Higher Education: "We also want to find out what the colleges are like and why they tend to be that way."

The appearance of such an article on the front page of a newspaper is somewhat surprising. At first glance its contents seem neither particularly newsworthy nor sensational.

There is nothing in the article to indicate why it is given such prominence.

The article gives no hint of the controversy and bitterness which the activities of the Center for the Study of Higher Education created on the Berkeley campus last spring.

The Chronicle states the case for the Center with no indication of the opposition which arose from students who resented the violation of their privacy.

And not one word was said about the resignation of an Assistant Dean of Students under enigmatic circumstances.

The questionnaires, delivered on a Monday afternoon, were to be returned on Thursday. Protesting students appealed to the above-mentioned Assistant Dean of Students, but the Dean of Women called a compulsory meeting at which time the undergraduate women were told they were expected to cooperate.

The sorority members refused.

The Center -- in order to by-pass the official decision of the sororities -- remailed the entire questionnaires to the girls individually.

Until this day the sorority groups have not filled in the questionnaire.

Believing they were acting in good faith with the administration, the Inter-Fraternity Conference cooperated and filled out the questionnaires.

A letter dated June 6 from E.W. Strong, then Acting Chief Campus Officer (presently Chancellor on the Berkeley campus), stated, "The Administration's policy concerning student participation in this and other studies is that participation is to be voluntary and without coercion. . . . The particular study in question is one being carried on by the Center for the Study of Higher Education under the leadership of Professor T.R. McConnell, Chairman of the Center, and Dr. H.C. Selvin, Associate Professor of Sociology. The study is supported financially by the National Institute of Mental Health. . . . The central purpose of this study is to assess the effects of a variety of educational experience within an institution of higher education upon men and women students of differing interests, majors and personality characteristics. . . ." (continued on next page)

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One student group protested that the questions were loaded in such a way that "it would be simple for a foreign agent to determine the girls who would be most susceptible to influence."

The "Attitude Inventory" contains one hundred questions. They are not remarkably different from the questions on all such tests. It is the questions on the second part, "California Questionnaire II," which are revelatory, and which lend significance to the first.

The following are sample questions from the "Attitude Inventory":

11. I am more realistic than idealistic, that is, more occupied with things as they are than with things as they should be. (True or false)
12. Nowadays more and more people are prying into matters that should remain personal and private.
16. People ought to pay more attention to new ideas, even if they seem to go against the American way of life.
20. One of the most important things children should learn is when to disobey authorities.
22. Most people don't realize how much our lives are controlled by plots hatched in secret places.
24. The artist and professor are probably more important to society than the businessman and the manufacturer.
28. The findings of science may some day show that many of our most cherished beliefs are wrong.
34. What youth needs most is strict discipline, rugged determination, and the will to work and fight for family and country.
47. I am uninterested in discussions of the ideal society or Utopia.
48. I discuss the causes and possible solutions of social, political, economic, or international problems.
51. I prefer to carry out an activity or job rather than to do the planning for it.
52. I am more interested in the application of principles and theories than in the critical consideration of them.
54. I am unable to explain the reasons for my opinions and reactions.
57. I have difficulty in imagining the reaction of a person of another period, race, or country, to a given situation or environment.
61. I am certainly lacking in self-confidence.
63. I am inclined to take things hard.
65. Life is a strain for me much of the time.
69. I cannot keep my mind on one thing.
70. I prefer to have a principle or theory explained to me rather than attempting to understand it on my own.
73. I certainly feel useless at times.
74. I prefer to work with others rather than alone.
75. I have sometimes felt that difficulties were piling up so high that I could not overcome them.
77. I feel anxiety about something or someone almost all the time.
79. I shrink from facing a crisis or difficulty.
80. The thinking which I do is largely limited to that which I must do in the course of my work.
83. I am happy most of the time.
87. I am usually calm and not easily upset.
89. I find it hard to keep my mind on a task or job.
91. I frequently find myself worrying about something.
92. I am aroused by a speaker's description of unfortunate conditions in a locality or country.
93. At times I think I am no good at all.

(continued on next page)

During the period in which this staff was in control, the Daily Californian was barely distinguishable from the communist newspaper, the People's World.

The brief appearance of the Independent Californian was soon forgotten and it is surprising (or is it?) to find it mentioned again in this context.

"How many home football games did you attend last fall?"

People who attend football games with enthusiasm are known to be lost to an ideological cause.

"Please think of your two closest friends of your own sex at Cal. Where did you meet them? Close friend A, Close friend B. Where do you usually spend most of your time with them? (Check the two most important places for each friend.) How often do you see these friends?"

After he gives a page of information about his associations with his friends, the student finds--five pages later--lines on which he can write the names of Friend A and Friend B.

This part is very cleverly contrived and cannot be anything but a deliberate trick.

It follows this question: "On the average, how many hours per week have you spent on each of the following kinds of activities?"

"Please write in the names of the activities in the space provided: Intercollegiate athletics (which), Intramural athletics (which), religious groups (which), Student government (which), academic or departmental groups (which), special interest groups (e.g. hiking club, yacht club, photography club, etc.) (which), Other regular activities. Now go back and place a check mark in the parentheses by each activity where you are, or have been, captain, president, or chairman of the group."

Lines are drawn to provide blank spaces for the names of the organizations.

Almost at the end, Friend A and Friend B are reintroduced. "Now think back to your two closest friends at Cal. Are they members of 'this group'?"

And without repeating their request, lines identical to those described above for the names of organizations, are drawn for the names of Friend A and of Friend B.

"California Questionnaire II," eighteen pages long, ends with a couple of pages devoted to "this group" of which the student is a member.

"How long have you been a member of 'this group'?"

"What part did each of the following play in getting you to join 'this group'? The activities of the group appealed to me, the kind of people who belong to the group, the prestige of belonging to the group, the convenience of everyday living afforded by belonging to the group, friends who were already members of the group.

"About what proportion of your time on campus do you spend in the company of other members of 'this group'?"

"Everybody is influenced by the opinions of those close to him. To what extent has participation in 'this group' influenced your choices in each of the following areas? Major, specific courses, choice of dates, career plans, campus politics, national politics?"

The questions about "this group" could give an excellent evaluation of the strength of the group. One of the student living groups complained that from the results of this survey, it would be easy to determine which house to infiltrate first.

When the weak personalities from each group are known, it is charged, the questionnaire will tell where they continued on next page)

94. I dislike having others deliberate and hesitate before acting.
96. I question the accuracy of statements made in my textbooks or reference books.
97. I work under a great deal of tension.

The questions in "California Questionnaire II" are of a different order.

The student is asked, "How certain are you about returning to Cal next year?" Multiple choice answers are provided with boxes for checking the correct answer.

"As you think back over this semester, how much of your non-class time per week would you say you have spent in 'bull sessions' with friends or acquaintances? Where is the most usual place you would go if you wanted to find such a 'bull session'?"

"In these conversations, how often are these topics discussed? Campus issues, family and friends, dating, national or world affairs, personal problems, sports, philosophical questions, living group matters, class work, other? Now go back and put a check mark in the parentheses by that subject which you prefer to talk about in such conversations."

"Please indicate how you feel about each of the following statements:

"a. A former member of the Communist Party who refuses to reveal the names of Party members he has known should not be allowed to teach in a college or university.

"b. The way they are run now, labor unions do this country more harm than good.

"c. Legislative committees should not investigate the political beliefs of university faculty members.

"d. A high school teacher who 'pleads the Fifth Amendment' while being questioned by a Congressional committee should be fired at once.

"e. If a person accused of a major crime is acquitted, and if new evidence is then found that the prosecution claims indicates that he was guilty, he should be retried."

The presence of three questions on the same topic, apparently casually distributed, is to be noted.

"About how much interest would you say you have in national and world affairs? During the past few weeks, how often have you discussed national or world affairs with friends or acquaintances?"

"Did you vote in the general election for ASUC officers held this spring?"

"Regardless of immediate issues, how do you usually think of yourself--as a Republican, a Democrat, or what? Conservative Republican, Liberal Republican, Conservative Democrat, Liberal Democrat, Independent, Socialist, Other?"

"Approximately how often do you read the letters in the 'Ice Box' section in the Daily Californian?"

At the time this questionnaire was formulated, the letters referred almost exclusively to the Soviet Union, communism and the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

"How many issues of the Independent Californian did you read?"

This question is extremely interesting because it refers to a renegade student newspaper which appeared only a half dozen times last fall and attracted little attention. It was produced by a staff of left-wingers which had been replaced on the Daily Californian because they had endorsed a candidate (the candidate for Slate, the left-wing political group) in their editorial columns.

(continued on next page)

student spends his leisure time, how and where his professor influences him, his two best friends of either sex, his religion, family background and his father's status in the business world with its significant changes in the past ten years (any cause for bitterness in the family?).

A considerable emphasis is given to the certainty of the student's returning to the University of California. There is no need to waste time in developing a leader who may not be there next year!

The last statements of the questionnaire are these: "Now we ask you to print your name here so that the information from this questionnaire may be statistically correlated with other information on the student body. Once the data are punched on IBM cards, your name will be removed and destroyed."

But the question is who gets the information and what use is made of it before it is punched on IBM cards.

With this information, any general could recruit an army.

THE MORAL VALUE INVENTORY

A questionnaire given to public school students in California, notably in Kern County, lists "choices" which are by no means choices. When forced to make a choice between two serious evils, a person tends --even unwillingly-- to upgrade one of them.

One question is
Which is worse?

- ___ 1. spitting on the Bible.
- ___ 2. spitting on the American Flag.

If one answers "spitting on the Bible," he admits the suggestion that spitting on the American Flag is not so bad after all.

The following are other "questions" from this "inventory":

Which day is more important?

- ___ 1. Independence Day.
- ___ 2. United Nations Day.

The appearance of an organization on the Attorney-General's list of subversive organizations is

- ___ 1. sufficient to conclude that most of its members are communistic?
- ___ 2. an indication that the aims of the organization do not agree with the current climate of opinions in our government?

Which is more important?

- ___ 1. taking the oath of allegiance to the U.S.
- ___ 2. joining a church.

Which is worse?

- ___ 1. denying the existence of God.
- ___ 2. laughing while the Star Spangled Banner is being played.

Which of the following men contributed more to the progress of mankind?

- ___ 1. St. Paul.
- ___ 2. Abraham Lincoln.

THE REPORT OF THE JOINT INTERIM COMMITTEE ON THE PUBLIC EDUCATION SYSTEM, published by the Senate of the State of California, 1961, makes these remarks:

The public schools in the State of California use many different devices to test the attitudes and beliefs of school children--given without the consent or knowledge of the parents--, and they obviously (continued on next page)

feel that these devices are valuable. It seems strange to us that tests on such intangibles as attitudes and beliefs are considered reliable and helpful; whereas, tests on tangible knowledge acquired by a student in a certain subject are considered unreliable and harmful.

The committee charges that attitude tests are detrimental to the normal growth and development of children,

harmful to their mental health, propagandizing children to question and reject the American ideals as well as the beliefs of their parents, directing the children's minds into the garbage pit of human thought.

The report states:

America in the future will reflect the attitudes, beliefs, and ideals which children are learning today. These brainwashing tests constitute a savage attack on the children of this State. Children must be protected from them.

The following comments are made in connection with one group of such tests:

These questions are opinion molding. They are not really tests of social maturity. However, after taking the tests, children would feel that they had to agree with the correct answers to be socially mature, and they would change their views accordingly.

THE COMMUNIST TOE IN THE CONGO DOOR by David Haddon

Despite an August 4 headline, "UN Lauds New Congo Rule," there seems little or nothing that is praiseworthy in the new regime in that country.

According to a news report of August 3, "Christophe Gbenye, a key member of Gizenga's regime, was appointed interior minister with control of the nation's loosely organized police."

This appointment places Gizenga, the communist-backed successor to Lumumba, squarely in control of the police.

His position fulfills what has always been the communists' minimum demand for "cooperation" in coalition governments: control of the police through the interior ministry.

It becomes obvious that the Congo is now beginning the familiar trek to communist satellite status.

All this leaves us with three questions: Why does the UN find this development so laudable? Why does our government acquiesce by continuing to finance this debacle? Why doesn't the press analyse and inform the public of such a transparent communist stratagem?

A person who is not connected with SAAT--but who is in a position to know what he is talking about--offers us the following analysis of student political organizations:

- 1) A student group organizes along political lines;
- 2) As the organization takes shape, the Communist Party begins its infiltration;
- 3) The character of the student group gradually becomes more radical;
- 4) The student founders of the student group graduate or transfer and leave the organization to members holding seniority, an in-group dominated by the Communist Party.
- 5) The whole group is rapidly seized by professional organizers. This process is facilitated by the fact that the student population is transient and changing but the CP organizers are permanent.

OCCUPIED LITHUANIA: "A HAPPY SOVIET REPUBLIC"

An American visitor to Lithuania, occupied by the Soviets in 1940, writes:

"Kaunas, the second largest city in Lithuania, is now a shabby city. Before the war it was one of the most beautiful, clean and modern cities in Northern Europe. Today it is just the opposite. The Metropole Hotel, a leading hotel before the war, has not been painted since the war, nor have most of the homes and business establishments. Bricks are falling off building edges; the streets are dirty and full of chuck holes. The reason given for this was that the government owns everything and should look after things. The private individual no longer cares for he has no personal interest.

"The students I spoke to stated that 80% of the Lithuanian student body at all educational levels is, in their words, 'loyal' to the Lithuanian national cause of freedom. One student mentioned that they are now placing a question mark on even the exact sciences taught under the Communist tutors. In other words, they are questioning everything that is fed to them in the schools. . .

"Concerning Lithuanian underground activities, knowing that before the war at least 100,000 persons were engaged in active resistance to the Soviets, I was told that not a single one remains alive today. All have been brutally massacred. Bodies of the freedom fighters were permitted to rot for days in the village squares, and when one doctor implored the authorities to bury the victims, fearing an outbreak of an epidemic of some sort, this was refused. The participants suffered much torture, and their bodies were desecrated beyond description."

The Soviet Union has deported more than half of a million Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians to the remote Arctic areas of Soviet Russia, where many of them have perished from torture, starvation, cold and exhaustion. At the same time, Russians continue to be imported to Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. The Russian element constitutes at present nearly one-third of the entire population of Estonia and Latvia and nearly ten percent of that of Lithuania. In pre-war Lithuania the Russian element was almost non-existent.--V. Sidzikauskas

The horrible thing is that there is a complete failure to comprehend the menace of communism even among members of Congress.--Senator Dodd

THE COMMITTEE TO DEFEND CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES INVESTIGATING COMMUNISM, P.O. Box 303, Lombard, Illinois has sent us copies of a petition which it is circulating. TOCSIN will be happy to send copies of this petition to our subscribers who request them. The petition reads:

We, the undersigned, recognize the serious nature of the Communist conspiracy, which aims to overthrow our constitutional government and establish Communist dictatorship.

We praise the House Committee On Un-American Activities and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee for their diligent and patriotic efforts to expose, analyze and publicize the true nature of the Communist conspiracy, and to recommend legislation to protect us against Communism.

We re-affirm our support of these committees in their valuable and necessary work of exposing Communist treason and subversion, and proping remedial legislation.

A Quaker writes, "The main fallacy in your thinking is in seeing the Russian leaders as all black. There is no one who is totally evil, just as we are not totally good. From this hypothesis of total depravity (for which you have indicated no evidence--can you remember when you first decided on this?), you decide that communication is impossible and so not worth attempting. Therefore your opinions are never open to modification or adjustment. Your statements seem to indicate emotion uppermost and reasoning propping it up. Precisely what are you afraid of?"

It has been our observation that an individual's awakening to the dangers of communism often takes a form similar to that of a religious conversion. The awakening is often preceded by a considerable amount of resistance which is bolstered by lengthy and superfluous excuses. When the breakthrough comes, awareness is often sudden and overwhelming. From that point, it tends to involve the individual in a total way and he is led to reevaluate his whole conception of his role in society.

FAMOUS LAST WORDS: I'm just as much against communism as anyone else, but it seems to me that if we only took those bases away from around the Soviet Union . . .

LIBERALISM: A STUDY IN PARADOXES by Edgar S. Parker

"Liberals" are fond of presenting their case through paradoxes. Two of their favorite old queries are "How can we say that being strongly armed for war preserves the peace?" and "How does the abrogation of liberties by such bodies as the House Committee on Un-American Activities preserve our liberty?"

It is paradoxical that, though claiming to be tremendously concerned about keeping this nation free, "Liberals" are the chief advocates of unilateral disarmament. They support a policy which would leave us at the mercy of the greatest tyrants the world has ever seen: the Soviet Union and Communist China. It is difficult to believe that, having observed the ruthless Soviet repression of revolutions against its puppet governments in Hungary, East Germany and Poland, and the no less ruthless Chinese aggression in Korea, Laos, Viet Nam, Tibet and elsewhere, the "Liberals" can actually believe the communists would hesitate a moment--if they saw the United States in a weak position militarily--to conquer us and put a permanent end to any hope of liberty.

It is paradoxical that "Liberals" who claim to esteem civil liberties highly, are the chief opponents of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the F.B.I. They would deprive the House of Representatives of a most effective committee which investigates the need for legislation to protect the United States from the International Communist conspiracy. It is a committee which has over the years proposed much helpful legislation against the attempt of the conspiracy to gain control of the country internally. And "Liberals" would deprive the country of the F.B.I., an organization which seeks out those attempting to subvert our government and put an end to all liberties.

The position of the "Liberals" is indeed unique. They claim to honor liberty, but they are in favor of all methods which would weaken us and expose us to eternal slavery. Their strange attitude is matched, interestingly enough, by that of the governments of Russia and China and their subsidiary puppet governments in the vast

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 Director.....Charles Fox
 Chairman.....David Haddon
 Editor.....George Keith

communist empire. These governments are continually announcing their devotion to liberty for mankind at the same time that they hold millions of people enslaved and while they anxiously attempt to enslave the rest of the world. This has a rather disturbing resemblance to the attitude of "Liberals" in the United States.*****

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FURTHER INFORMATION CONCERNING DR. GEORGIA HARKNESS

Dr. Georgia Harkness, in a commencement address delivered at the Pacific School of Religion in Berkeley in May 1961, listed "hysterical anti-communism" as one of six major evils confronting the world, the Church and the ministry.

According to Dr. Harkness, hysterical anti-communism (Is there any other kind of anti-communism?--Ed.) "suppresses civil liberties in a land dedicated to democracy, fosters a tendency to view with suspicion any liberal minded or prophetic utterance, and allows claims of guilt by association to charge even the most high-minded religious leaders and groups with being fellow-travellers and dupes."

Dr. Harkness spoke in the place of Martin Luther King, originally invited to deliver the commencement address, who found himself detained at the last moment. ***

Before I left the party, Senator, the Communist Party -- and this is something that everyone should know -- agreed that after that period of 1945, that with the cold war beginning, all concealed Communists should sue anyone who accused them of being Communists, sue them for libel.

As Alexander Trachtenberg, who made the report said: "This is not necessarily for the purpose of winning the libel suit, it is to bleed white anyone who dares to accuse anyone of being a Communist, so that they will be shut up." And, as a matter of fact, that became the policy.--quoted from testimony of Louis Francis Budenz, pp. 506, State Department Employee Loyalty Investigation, Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, Eighty-First Congress, THINGS WE NEVER EXPECT TO SEE HAPPEN: Slate, radical left-wing party at the University of California, great defender of human liberties, holding a rally to protest the brutal treatment of East Germans who are not able to hold protest rallies.***

FAMOUS LAST WORDS: I'm just as much against communism as anyone else, but it does seem that if we just could be a little more understanding and if we only made an effort to understand what the communists want... The next number of TOCSIN will feature A BRIEF PAUSE FOR STATION IDENTIFICATION, Pacifica Foundation, KPFA-FM, WBAI-FM, KPFF-FM, and their communist speakers. ***

Send us subscriptions for university students of your acquaintance who are returning to campuses this fall.

ANNOUNCEMENTS:

Berkeley, California: "Facts about Communism" is the title of a series of lectures to be presented by the Berkeley Evening School at the Berkeley High School Community Theater, Milvia and Allston Way, Berkeley, Calif. The first lecture will be Friday, October 13, 7:45 p.m., "I Talked with 20,000 Russians," by Leon V. Tichinin, University of California Agriculture Extension, Farm Advisor. On Friday, October 20, Dr. Joost Sluis of the University of California Medical School, San Francisco, will discuss "Theory and Philosophy of Communism." Other lectures will follow on Friday evenings.

Hayward, California: Robert Hannon, president of the Mount Eden Republican Assembly, will be the featured speaker at a showing of "Communism on the Map" at 10:30 a.m., Saturday, September 9. The film will be shown in the Multipurpose Room of Southgate School, 26601 Calaroga Ave., Hayward. (Take first signal after San Mateo bridge.)

Pleasant Hill, California: Charles Fox, Director of SAAT, will speak before the Young Republicans Club, on August 28. Call Yellowstone 4-9675 for details.

Oakland, California: Charles Fox will speak at the Oakland Republican Assembly, Mezzanine Floor, Hotel Leamington, Oakland, at 7:30 p.m., Tuesday, Sept. 5. Subject: "Red Penetration of the Berkeley Campus."

California Radio: "Faith of Our Fathers," A Christian Freedom's Program Presentation, directed by R. Dale Wilson, each Sunday afternoon, 3:30-4:00 on KBCO-FM, 105.3.

"Life Line," KEAR-FM 97.3, 6:00 p.m.; KFAX 1100, 5:45 p.m., 8:45 a.m.; KSAN 1450, 10:45 a.m.; KLOK 9:00 a.m.; KJLM-FM 106.5, KYTN 8:00 a.m.; 1:55 p.m., 7:30 p.m.

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STUDENTS ASSOCIATED AGAINST TOTALITARIANISM

Berkeley, California

Vol. II, No. 2

CLINTON E. JENCKS, petitioner, v UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A famous legal case and a manifestation of educational policy in a state university

Clinton E. Jencks has been employed as a Teaching Assistant in the Department of Economics, University of California at Berkeley.

On June 3, 1957, the Supreme Court of the United States made a momentous decision. In the case, CLINTON E. JENCKS, petitioner, v. UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, the Supreme Court ruled that FBI files must be opened to the communists. The decision has served effectively to shackle the FBI in its presentation of evidence against suspected communists.

Dissenting Opinion by Justice Clark:

In a dissenting opinion to the majority decision, Justice Clark stated,

Unless the Congress changes the rule announced by the Court today, those intelligence agencies of our Government engaged in law enforcement may as well close up shop, for the Court has opened their files to the criminal and thus afforded him a Roman holiday for rummaging through confidential information as well as vital national secrets.

This may well be a reasonable rule in state prosecutions where none of the problems of foreign relations, espionage, sabotage, subversive activities, counterfeiting, internal security, national defense, and the like exist, but any person conversant with federal government activities and problems will quickly recognize that it opens up a veritable Pandora's box of troubles. And all in the name of justice. For over eight score years now our federal judicial administration has gotten along without it and today that administration enjoys the highest rank in the world.

Director J. Edgar Hoover back in 1950 tellingly pointed this out before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate. Among other things he said, "I have always maintained the view that if we were to fully discharge the serious responsibilities imposed upon us, the confidential character of our files must be inviolate.. Unless we drastically change or circumscribe our procedures, they should not be disclosed."

In describing the files of the Bureau, he continued: "FBI reports set forth all details secured from a witness. If these details were disclosed, they could become subject to misinterpretation, they could be quoted out of context, or they

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could be used to thwart truth, distort half-truths, and misrepresent facts. The raw material, the allegations, the details of associations, and compilation of information . . . are of value to an investigator in the discharge of his duty. These files were never intended to be used in any other manner and the public interest would not be serviced by the disclosure of their contents.

"These files contain complaints, allegations, facts and statements of all persons interviewed. Depending upon the purpose of the investigation, particularly in security cases, they contain, not only background data on the individual but details of his private life. . . the identities of our confidential sources of information and full details of investigative techniques. In short, they consist of a running account of all that transpires.

"For want of a more apt comparison, our files can be compared to the notes of a newspaper reporter before he has culled through the printable material from the unprintable. The files do not consist of proven information alone. . . One report may allege crimes of a most despicable type, and the truth or falsity of these charges may not emerge until several reports are studied, further investigation made, and the wheat separated from the chaff.

"If spread upon the record, criminals, foreign agents, subversives, and others would be forewarned and would seek methods to carry out their activities by avoiding detection and thus defeat the very purposes for which the FBI was created." (Quoted from Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on S Res 231, 81st Cong, 2d Sess 327-329)

The majority decision on this case was written by Justice Brennan, a new-comer to the Court. It was his first opinion.

Case summary

The Lawyers Edition of U.S. Supreme Court Reports, 1 L. Ed. 2d U.S. 352-354, summarizes the case in this fashion:

An officer of a labor union was indicted on a charge of falsely swearing, in an affidavit filed with the National Labor Relations Board, that he was not a member of, nor affiliated with, the Communist Party. At his trial in the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Texas he moved for orders directing an inspection of reports made to the FBI by two government witnesses as to events and activities to which they had testified at the trial. His motions were denied and he was convicted. His conviction was affirmed by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit (226 F2d 540, 553), holding that the defendant was not entitled to production of these reports, since a preliminary foundation of inconsistency between the contents of the reports and the trial testimony of the government witnesses was not laid.

On certiorari, the U.S. Supreme Court reversed. In an opinion by BRENNAN, J., expressing the views of five of the members of the Court, it was held that defendant was entitled to an order directing the government to produce the reports for his inspection, it being sufficient that they contained statements of government witnesses relating to the events and activities to which these witnesses testified at the

trial; the practice of producing government documents to the trial judge for his determination of relevancy and materiality, without hearing the accused, was disapproved.

It was also held that if the government exercised its privilege to withhold the reports in the public interest, the criminal action must be dismissed, and that it was for the government and not for the trial judge, to determine the question of public interest in that connection.

BURTON and HARLAN, JJ., in an opinion written by Mr. Justice BURTON, dissented from some of the views expressed in the Court's opinion, holding that the documents should be produced for the examination of the trial court to determine their relevancy as well as the applicability of the privilege claimed by the government. However, the justices concurred in the result on the ground that the instructions of the trial court on the question of membership in and affiliation with the Communist Party were defective.

FRANKFURTER, J., who joined in the opinion of the Court, agreed with them on that point.

CLARK, J., dissented from the holding requiring the government to produce the records for inspection by the defendant or suffer dismissal of the action. He also expressed the view that the trial court's instructions were sufficient.

WHITTAKER, J., did not participate.

Excerpts from the Opinion of the Court delivered by Justice Brennan

On April 28, 1950, the petitioner, as president of Amalgamated Bayard District Union, Local 890, International Union of Mine, Mill & Snelter Workers, filed an "Affidavit of Non-Communist Union Officer" with the National Labor Relations Board, pursuant to #9 (h) of the National Labor Relations Act.

He has been convicted under a two-count indictment charging that he violated 18 USC #1001 by falsely swearing in that affidavit that he was not on April 28, 1950, a member of the Communist Party or affiliated with such Party.

The Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit affirmed the conviction, and also an order of the District Court denying the petitioner's motion for a new trial. This Court granted certiorari.

Two alleged trial errors are presented for our review. Harvey F. Matusow and J.W. Ford, the Government's principal witnesses, were Communist Party members paid by the Federal Bureau of Investigation contemporaneously to make oral or written reports of Communist Party activities allegedly participated in by the petitioner, about which they testified at the trial. Error is asserted in the denial by the trial judge of the petitioner's motions to direct the Government to produce these reports for inspection and use in cross-examining Matusow and Ford. Error is also alleged in the instructions given to the jury on membership, affiliation, and the credibility of informers.

Former Party members testified that they and the petitioner, as members of the Communist Party of New Mexico, had been expressly instructed to conceal their membership and not to carry membership cards. They also testified that the Party kept no membership records or minutes of membership meetings, and that such meetings were secretly arranged and clandestinely held.

One of the witnesses said that special care was taken to conceal the Party membership of members, like the petitioner, "occupying strategic and important positions in labor unions and other organizations where public knowledge of their membership to non-communists

would jeopardize their position in the organization."

Accordingly, the Government did not attempt to prove the petitioner's alleged membership in the Communist Party on April 28, 1950, with any direct admissions by the petitioner of membership, by proof of his compliance with Party membership requirements, or that his name appeared upon a membership roster, or that he carried a membership card.

The evidence relied upon by the Government was entirely circumstantial. It consisted of testimony of conduct of the petitioner from early 1946 through October 15, 1949, and of Matusow's testimony concerning alleged conversations between him and the petitioner at a vacation ranch in July or August 1950, and concerning a lecture delivered by the petitioner at the ranch. The Government also attaches probative weight to the action of the petitioner in executing and filing an Affidavit of Non-Communist Union Officer on October 15, 1949, because of the event surrounding the filing of that affidavit. The Government bridged the gap between October 15, 1949, and July or August 1950 with the testimony of Ford that, during that period, the Party took no disciplinary action against the petitioner for defection or deviation, and did not replace the petitioner in the Party office which Ford testified the petitioner held as a member of the Party State Board.

The first alleged Party activity of the petitioner preceded his union employment. A witness, who was a Party member in the spring of 1946, testified that, at that time, he and the petitioner were present at a closed Party meeting at the home of the Party chairman for Colorado, where the petitioner, a veteran of World War II, led in urging that veterans who were Party members spread out into several veterans' organizations and not all join the same one, the better to further Party work.

Later in 1946 the petitioner was employed by the International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers as business agent for several local unions in the Silver City-Bayard, New Mexico area. It was testified that one of the petitioner's first acts was to meet with the International Union's then Regional Director for the Southwest, a Communist Party member, and with the Communist Party organizer for the area, to develop plans for organizing a Party group within each of those locals, which later merged to form Amalgamated Local 890 under the petitioner's presidency.

J.W. Ford was member of the Communist Party of New Mexico from 1946 to September 1950 and, from 1948, was a member of the State Board and a Party security officer. He said that in 1948 he became a paid undercover agent for the FBI and reported regularly upon Party activities and meetings. He testified that the petitioner was also a Party and a State Board member, and he related in detail occurrences at five closed Party meetings which he said the petitioner attended.

At the first meeting, in August, 1948, Ford said the Party members worked out a plan to support the petitioner's candidacy for Congress on the ticket of the Progressive Party. At the second meeting, in February 1949, Ford said that the petitioner and other Communist Party members were appointed delegates to a meeting of the Mexican-American Association in Phoenix, Arizona, to further a Party plan to infiltrate that organization and to use it for the Party's purposes. At the third meeting, in April 1949, Ford said that the Party's state organization was completed and the petitioner was appointed to the State Board and the Party leader in the southern half of the State. At the fourth meeting, in May 1949, Ford said

that the petitioner gave a progress report upon his success in recruiting Party members among labor groups, and offered to use Local 890's newspaper, "The Union Worker," which he edited, to support issues of Party interest. At the fifth meeting, in August 1949, Ford said that preparations were made for another meeting later in that month of the Mexican-American Association in Albuquerque, and that the delegates, including the petitioner, were instructed to give vigorous support to the meeting but to take care not to make themselves conspicuous in the proceedings.

Ford's duties as a Party security officer were to keep watch on all Party members and to report "any particular defections from the Communist philosophy or any peculiar actions, statements or associations, which would endanger the security of the Communist Party of the state."

If any defections reported by a security officer were considered important, the member "would be called in and would be either severely reprimanded or criticized, or disciplined. If he refused to accept such discipline he would either be suspended or expelled." Ford testified that between August 1949 and September 1950, when Ford ceased his activities with the New Mexico Party, there was no disciplinary action taken against the petitioner and, to his knowledge, the petitioner was not replaced in his position on the State Board of the Communist Party.

The events leading up to the petitioner's execution and filing, on October 15, 1949, of an affidavit of Non-Communist Union Officer were testified to by a former International Union representative, a Communist Party member during 1947 to 1949. He said that, about 17 months before, in May or June 1948, a meeting of Party members, holding offices in locals of the International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, was held in Denver to formulate plans for combatting a movement, led by non-communists, to secede from the International Union. He said that the Party members, including the petitioner, were informed of Party policy not to sign affidavits required by #9 (h) of the then recently enacted Taft-Hartley Act. There was no testimony that that policy changed before October 15, 1949.

The affidavit was filed shortly before a C.I.O. convention was scheduled to expel the Mine-Mill International and other unions from its membership. After filing the affidavit, the petitioner and other Local 890 officers published an article in "The Union Worker" charging that the contemplated C.I.O. action was part of a program of "right-wing unions. . . gobbling up chunks of militant unions. . . . Our International Union and its officers have swallowed a lot of guff, a lot of insults. But that is not the point. . . . Now that our Union has signed the phony affidavits we can defend ourselves. . . in case of raids. We do not fear attack from that quarter any longer."

Matusow was a member of the Communist Party of New York and was a paid undercover agent for the F.B.I. before he went to New Mexico. In July or August 1950, he spent a 10-day vacation on a ranch near Taos, New Mexico, with the petitioner and a number of other people. He testified to several conversations with the petitioner there. He said he twice told the petitioner of his desire to transfer his membership from the New York to the New Mexico Party, and that on both occasions, the petitioner applauded the idea and told him, "we can use you out here; we need more active Party members." On one of these occasions, Matusow said, the petitioner asked him for suggestion for a lecture the petitioner was preparing for delivery at the ranch, particularly as to what the New York Communists were doing about the Stockholm Peace Appeal. Matusow described to the petitioner a

"do-day" program adopted in New York when the Party members were doers, not talkers, and performed some activity, such as painting signs around a baseball stadium urging support for the Peace Appeal. He testified that the petitioner showed great interest in the idea and said he might bring it back to his fellow Party members in Silver City.

Matusow testified that the petitioner delivered his planned lecture, informed his audience of the "do-day" idea, praised the Soviet Union's disarmament plan, referred to the United States as the aggressor in Korea, and urged all to read the "Daily People's World," identified by Matusow as the "West Coast Communist Party newspaper." Another witness, an expelled member of Amalgamated Local 890, testified that petitioner, during 1950, 1951 and 1952, repeatedly urged at union meetings that the union members read that paper.

Matusow also testified that, in one of their conversations, the petitioner told him of a program he was developing with leaders of the Mexican Miners Union to negotiate simultaneous expiration dates of collective bargaining agreements, to further a joint action of Mexican and American workers to cut off production to slow down the Korean War effort. Matusow also testified that when he told the petitioner that he had joined the Taos Chapter of the Mexican-American Association, the petitioner told him that this was proper Communist work because the Association was a key organization, controlled by the Party, for Communist activities in New Mexico and that he, the petitioner, was active in the Association in the Silver City area.

John T. McTernan, communist lawyer, was defense counsel

House Report No. 41, COMMUNIST LEGAL SUBVERSION, THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST LAWYER, Report by the Committee on Un-American Activities, 86th Congress, 1st Session, gives the following documentation about

John T. McTernan, California

David Aaron appeared before this committee in Washington, D.C., on January 23, 1952, and testified there was a lawyers' group of the Communist Party in Los Angeles, called the Engels Club, of which John McTernan was a member. A. Marburg Yerkes and William G. Israel also identified Mr. McTernan as a member of the Communist Party lawyers' group in testimony before this committee in 1952.

John T. McTernan invoked the fifth amendment regarding Communist Party membership when he testified before this committee in Los Angeles on April 21, 1956.

John T. McTernan was a member of the executive board of the National Lawyers Guild in 1949, 1950, and was again elected as a Los Angeles member of the board at the 1956 and 1957 national conventions. Mr. McTernan was among those scheduled to speak at panel meetings during the National Lawyers Guild's 20th anniversary convention in February 1957. At the same convention, he was also a reporter for the afternoon session of the panel conference on civil rights and liberties, and due process of law.

He was among the sponsors of a dinner held in Los Angeles in 1951 at which William L. Patterson, national executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress under indictment for contempt, was an honored guest. The dinner was advertised as "part of a nationwide drive to raise \$60,000 for Civil Rights Congress to continue its defense of the courageous people victimized by the Smith and McCarran Acts." Mr. McTernan was scheduled to speak at a Civil Rights Congress

meeting in May, 1951. He was also a speaker at a rally held August 1955, at which action was taken to circulate a friend of the court brief in behalf of Steve Nelson.

The lawyer was at the speakers table of a dinner held in September 1949 to raise funds for defense of 11 national Communist leaders tried under the Smith Act. John McTernan submitted a brief signed by various West Coast lawyers in 1949 to the circuit court of appeals to void the contempt convictions of the lawyers who defended the "11."

John T. McTernan annually sent greetings to the Daily People's World from 1951 through 1957.

McTernan is also mentioned under the heading Richard Gladstein, California:

Richard Gladstein, who has spent a large part of his time in the defense of Communist causes, was identified as a member of the Communist Party by Dr. Jack Patten in sworn testimony before this committee on June 19, 1957.

Mr. Gladstein was admitted to the bar in 1931. With Aubrey Grossman, another identified Communist, he opened a law firm in San Francisco in 1936. They were credited in the Daily People's World with training the staffs for the Los Angeles law firm of Margolis & McTernan, the Honolulu firm of Bouslog & Symonds and the Oakland firm of Edises and Treuhart. It is interesting to note that all of these lawyers except Symonds have been publicly identified as members of the Communist Party in sworn testimony before this committee. (There follows further information about Gladstein.)

And McTernan's name appears under the heading Robert J. Silberstein, New York:

David Aaron testified in 1952 that he met Silberstein in Los Angeles in the 1940's at a secret communist meeting in the home of John McTernan, at which time Silberstein spoke on the function of a Los Angeles Communist lawyers' group--what it was supposed to do and its relationship with the National Lawyers Guild.

U.S. District Judge says Jencks is guilty

District Judge R.E. Thomason reluctantly granted the government's request to drop the case against Jencks. He pointed out that Jencks was tried by a fair and impartial jury and found guilty, adding, "This court thought he was guilty then and thinks he is guilty now."

Public Law 85-269, September 2, 1957

The 85th Congress enacted legislation which lessened the impact of the Jencks decision upon the rights of defendants in federal criminal cases with respect to inspection of the records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

P.L. 269 amends 18 USC ch 223. It reads, in part:

(a) In any criminal prosecution brought by the United States, no statement or report in the possession of the U.S. which was made by a Government witness or prospective Government witness (other than the defendant) to an agent of the Government shall be the subject of subpoena, discovery, or inspection until said witness has testified on direct examination in the trial of the case.

(b) After a witness called by the U.S. has testified on direct examination, the court shall, on motion of the defendant, order

the United States to produce any statement (as hereinafter defined) of the witness in the possession of the United States which relates to the subject matter as to which the witness has testified. If the entire contents of any such statement relate to the subject matter of the testimony of the witness, the court shall order it to be delivered directly to the defendant for his examination and use.

(c) If the United States claims that any statement ordered to be produced under this section contains matter which does not relate to the subject matter of the testimony of the witness, the court shall order the United States to deliver such statement for the inspection of the court in camera. Upon such delivery the court shall excise the portions of such statement which do not relate to the subject matter of the testimony of the witness. With such material excised the court shall then direct delivery of such statement to the defendant for his use. If, pursuant to such procedure, any portion of such statement is withheld from the defendant and the defendant objects to such withholding, and the trial is continued to an adjudication of the guilt of the defendant, the entire text of such statement shall be preserved by the U.S. and, in the event the defendant appeals, shall be made available to the appellate court for the purpose of determining the correctness of the ruling of the trial judge. . .

(d) If the U.S. elects not to comply with an order of the court under paragraph (b) and (c) hereof to deliver to the defendant any such statement, or such portion thereof as the court may direct, the court shall strike from the record the testimony of the witness, and the trial shall proceed unless the court in its discretion shall determine that the interest of justice require that a mistrial be declared. . .

FAMOUS LAST WORDS: Just don't tell me any more. I believe we should love our enemies and I don't care what you say they've done: I just don't want to hear it.

FAMOUS LAST WORDS: If we'd only get down and talk to those communists man-to-man, why would they want to fight us?

Former President Hoover, June 1941: "If we go further and join the war and win, then we have won for Stalin the grip of communism on Russia, the enslavement of nations and more opportunity for it to expand in the world."

A FREEDOM MANIFESTO, an address by the Honorable Nelson S. Dilworth (excerpts).

The trip from freedom to slavery is quick, like passing through a door. The return trip from slavery to freedom takes whole generations, yes, centuries of sacrificial struggle by the noblest and best youth of the land...

Today in our Republic it is political suicide for a public representative really to expose people who carry the message of the known Communist press. . . With virtual immunity sympathizers of the party convert its program into action on platform and in official position. Communist philosophy and propaganda has infected popular thinking so deeply in some areas that people destroy the public officials that are sacrificially trying to defend them from the International Communist conspiracy. (continued on next page)

TOCSIN is written and distributed by Students Associated Against Totalitarianism, an independent organization, Box 784, Berkeley 1 Calif. Phone THORwall 3-8832
 Director Charles Fox
 Chairman David Haddon
 Editor George Keith

A large majority of our people still dislike Communism but for some reason they also disapprove and defeat public officials who effectively identify and expose the Communist conspirators. No man active in exposing Communists and Communism when I entered public life has escaped being driven from office.

People ask me why don't you tell us who the Communists are. It is most difficult. For many years now no written records of party membership of any kind have been kept in this Country. There are no card carrying Communists now, and have not been for years. Only the rank and file Communists ever had cards. There have always been the higher leaders who were never endangered by any tangible connection with the party itself yet were decisive in determining its policies and strategy....

How do we spot a Communist? Well, first, every concealed Communist denies he is a Communist, indignantly and with a show of outraged innocence. Second, Communists say and advocate the same things that the Communist press and Communist text books say and advocate. This is important for actual party membership is of little consequence if the individual is a propagandist for the party program. He may be even more dangerous outside the party and able to deny membership under oath. In fact, we think that some of the most effective agents of the Kremlin are deliberately put outside the party to continue subversion without the hazard of identification and exposure.

Again, concealed Communists usually either defend any exposed Communist or indignantly condemn the public official who has exposed a Communist. In fact, their most effective activity to date has been to attack and destroy the loyal public officials who have done their duty to inform the American people who their enemies are.

Sometimes people with no connection with Communism do these same things for reasons known but to them. In doing so they render greater service to the Communist conspiracy than the Communist Party's own members can render to it.

The American people are willing to fight Communist attacks on free men overseas, but have not begun to defend those courageous men who protect American freedoms in public position here at home from wholly obvious Communist inspired attack. Our most dangerous enemies are not marching under foreign flags but infiltrating here in our own homeland. Of what avail is it that our brave sons win costly victories on bloody foreign battlefields if the people allow followers of the same enemy ideology to continue in classroom or government office at home. . .

It is not easy to fight Communism. Your antagonists deny loudly they are Communists and in resisting them you feel utterly alone. Your friends do not see behind the mask and they will tell you bitterly that you are wrong. *****

FAMOUS LAST WORDS: The real danger is not communism, but Khrushchev.

SUBSCRIPTION COUPON

Students Associated Against Totalitarianism
 Box 784
 Berkeley 1, Calif.

I wish to subscribe to TOCSIN and enclose the sum of \$1.00 for ten issues.

I enclose a contribution of _____ for your work.

Name

Street

City (Zone)

STUDENTS ASSOCIATED AGAINST TOTALITARINISM believes that communism is not a political philosophy. It is only a conspiracy. It is a plot used by a few ruthless men to gain and enjoy dictatorial power and to make imperialistic conquests.

Discussions about teaching the pros and cons of communism involve the same principles as teaching about murder, drug addiction and prostitution.

The "principles" of communism cannot be taught. Communism can only be exposed.

There is no way to compromise with communism. It has to be rejected completely.

Fundamentally, communism works for the destruction of all civilized human values. It would take us back in history to a time before we gained the rights guaranteed in the Magna Carta. And it would destroy the progress man has made since that time. It would throw all of mankind into enslavement.

The so-called "doctrine" of communism must be understood in terms of the basic scheme of communism. It cannot be understood in terms of the mouthings of communist propaganda, which has learned to employ the same language as that used by decent human beings.

Man's freedom must be protected against communist usurpers.

It is the duty of liberty-loving people to be sensitive to the attacks made upon their values and to know how to combat them.

We Americans--however conscious we may be of our own imperfections--must dedicate ourselves to the protection of our basic values.

We are experiencing a crisis such as we have never known before. It is so grave and so monstrous that it is beyond the imagination of most of us.

We have very little time left.

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Students Associated
Against Totalitarianism
Box 784
Berkeley 1, California

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Friday, September 1, 1961

Fox to Speak: Communist Activity Here

Charles Fox, speech instructor at the University, will discuss communist activity here in a speech to the Oakland Republican Assembly Tuesday.

The meeting will be in Hotel Leamington at 7:30 p.m.

Fox, director of Students Associated Against Totalitarianism, has called the University the "capitol of western communism" in a speech at the Berkeley H-Twelve Club. He claimed that leftist professors and students have been transferred here from other campuses to carry on their activities and that conservatives fear to speak up because of possible retaliation.

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DATE 10-4-88 BY SP1 AGJ

THE DAILY CALIFORNIAN
University of California
Date: 9/1/61 - Page 8
Editor: TERRY TIMMONS
Night Editor: MARTY SOURS

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Case: S A A T
Classification:

100 - 47243

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100-47243-17

September 18, 1961

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington 25,
District of Columbia

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-4-88 BY SP1 AGJ/C

Dear Mr. Hoover:

As a member of the freshmen class at the University of California campus at Berkeley, I am very interested in participating in several organizations whose format is directed toward the college student. One of these organizations has its alleged purpose to alert students to the existence of Communist front organizations in the collegiate community of America. Since considerable attention has been focused on this subject in the past few months, I felt it imperative to look into this organization before I sought membership. In this respect I hope that the Federal Bureau of Investigation may be able to provide information that would substantiate the motives of the following group:

The organization I wish to call to your attention calls itself, Students Associated Against Totalitarianism (S.A.A.T.). It lists its address as Box 784, Berkeley 1, California. However, on September 17, 1961, I personally visited the headquarters of S.A.A.T., located at 2527 Ridge Road, Apartment 428. I was introduced to a [redacted]

[redacted] of S.A.A.T.'s weekly publication. [redacted] a senior at the University of California at Berkeley, has a home address of [redacted] graduate students at the same university, reside at the same address as the organization's headquarters.

I would also like to call to your attention S.A.A.T.'s weekly publication Tocsin. I have included a copy of Tocsin and other printed material given to me at the time of the September 17th meeting.

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100-47243-18

I have given you as much information as I can and I hope that you will be able to provide me with some facts to clarify the motives of this organization. I must say that I am in no position to either believe or disbelieve the purposes of this group, and I therefore thought it wise to contact someone that might know. I would appreciate prompt consideration of this subject, as, if this group is a legitimate one, I will support it wholeheartedly. If it is not legitimate, I will actively oppose it.

Respectfully yours,



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September 22, 1961

(NI)

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Index

[Redacted]

Dear [Redacted]

*Search p. 2
+ enclosure
also
Wm*

I have received your letter dated September 18, 1961, with its enclosure, and the interest which prompted your communicating with me is appreciated.

While I would like to be of assistance, the jurisdiction and responsibilities of the FBI, strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government, do not extend to furnishing evaluations or comments concerning the character or integrity of any individual, organization or publication. I am sure you will understand the necessity for this policy and will not infer that we do or do not have in our files the information you desire.

I am enclosing two items of literature which you may like to read.

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DATE 10-4-88 BY SP1AG/JC

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosures (2)

1 - San Francisco (enclosure)

SEE NOTE TO SAN FRANCISCO, PAGE TWO

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100-47243-19

[REDACTED]

ATTENTION: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO

There is enclosed one copy of correspondent's letter. He enclosed with his letter a copy of "Tocsin" which appears to be the publication of the organization, Students Associated Against Totalitarianism, Box 784, Berkeley, California. This publication indicates that the Berkeley campus for the past year has been rife with "radical left-wing political activity" which is detrimental to a strong United States. It pointed out that this activity takes the form of attacks against Government investigation of communist subversion, denigration of the FBI and local law enforcement officials, peace marches, and peace rallies, etc. It warned against students signing petitions for supporting rallies unless the background of the organization was known.

Bufiles contain no identifiable references to the correspondent.

Bufiles reveal that San Francisco informants have furnished literature issued by the Students Associated Against Totalitarianism. There is no indication that active investigation has been conducted concerning this organization.

Handwritten: [unclear]

Bufiles contain no identifiable references to "Tocsin" as a publication of the above-mentioned group. Bufiles reveal that an organization by the name of Tocsin at Harvard and Radcliffe was made up of students at these colleges who directed their activities toward disarmament.

Correspondent was sent the following items of literature:

1. "What You Can do to Fight Communism and Preserve America."
2. Director's Statement Dated April 17, 1961, Regarding Internal Security."

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-43823)

9/15/61

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SA DONALD E. JONES

SLATE
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DATE 10-4-88 BY SP1 AGJ

PSI

7/23/61

7/28/61

SA DONALD
E. JONES

Meeting sponsored
by SLATE at Wesley,
Foundation, Dana at
Bancroft Way, Berkeley,
California

BE CERTAIN IDENTITY OF INFORMATION IS PROTECTED.

On 7/28/61, PSI [redacted] who has furnished
reliable information in the past, furnished SA DONALD E.
JONES with a typewritten report of the above described
affair. This report is set out verbatim below:

"Report of APTHUR's Berkeley Speech,
23 July 61 (Sponsored by SLATE)"

"The event was picketed by [redacted] 'Students
Associated Against Totalitarianism' who distributed
handbills denouncing SLATE. Some people (organization
unknown) distributed a 'little newspaper' called
'Americans, On Guard' (105 E. 18th St., Costa Mesa,
California) which contained reproductions of the
purloined mug shots of the students arrested last
year at S. F. City Hall. Some members of the JOHN
BIRCH Society were also in evidence; one of them I
believe, comes from Albany - she apparently assumed
I was a member of SLATE and seemingly recognizing
me, gave me a dirty look. [redacted] from
the Albany Republican Assembly, was there; he

1 - 100-43823

ccs: [redacted] (PSI [redacted])
100-40880 (HERBERT APTHUR)
100-47243 (SAAT)

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(8)

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100-47243-20

cautioned me against teaming up with [redacted] (I have heard from several sources that [redacted] is half-cracked). [redacted] was on the scene;

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[redacted] (23).
[redacted] was in the crowd.

"APTHEKER denounced Facism, quoting at length from statements by AL CAPONE, HITLER and GORKHELS, and compared their attitude to that of KENNEDY. He stated that the C. P. was peaceful, progressive, and non-conspiratorial; that statements advocating use of violence to achieve communism had frequently been made by planted police agents, who were expelled when their identity became known. He stated that when 'socialism' came to the U. S. it would be in response to the demands of the people rather than being inflicted upon the people by the C. P. He anticipated, however, that there might be violence initiated at such a time by reactionaries and facists.

"During the question and answer period a man in the back row tried to give APTHEKER a bad time, but APTHEKER put him down; when the man persisted, [redacted] declared him to be 'out of order'. A woman in the back row asked APTHEKER to define 'reactionary'. He defined it ostensibly, referring to the JOHN BIRCH Society, whereupon the woman said she was a member of the J. B. Society. APTHEKER was also asked about anti-semitism in the USSR and the Hungarian revolt. With respect to the former he stated that anti-semitism in the USSR was a residue of pre-socialist influence which the C. P. was making every effort to stamp out as well as the effect of German propaganda distributed in Nazi held Soviet territory during the war. He said 'When socialism comes to Mississippi, racism will not be eliminated overnight'.

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DEJ:ra

With respect to the latter he stated that although genuine cause for discontent had existed in Hungary, due to the mistakes of the C. P., they would not have been sufficient cause for any revolt had they not been exploited by fascists, would be capitalists, and CIA agitators, who had no genuine interest in aiding the people but were merely exploiting them for their (the fascists etc.) selfish interests - e.g. the restoration of exploitive capitalism.

"It is, incidentally, a dangerous mistake (if not an injustice) to regard APTHEKER as nothing more than a 'communist agitator' who is heeded by none except the unwashed and bearded. He is exceptionally intelligent, extremely well educated, impressive in manner and appearance, and a first rate public speaker. He is able to gain sympathizers, if not adherents, where people like [redacted] would fail to make an impression."

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Action to be taken based on information contained in this report:

FILE.

America in Decline Says SAAT Leader

By Bill Ehler.

America has begun to rationalize and prepare psychologically for its decline as a world power, Charles Fox told an audience of about 100 students last night.

Fox, the founder of Students Associated Against Totalitarianism, is presently its "director," a job which entails organization of future chapters on other campuses.

An objective reading of the last 15 years of American history shows that we have been fighting a war with Russia since World War II ended, Fox told the students.

And the United States has lost "almost every battle we have fought with the Soviet Union in that time," he said.

Fox said that there is doubt

whether this country has five years of national existence remaining.

"Internal Subversion"

Internal subversion is the most "violent" problem in American life today, he said. He cited the Citizens for Constitutional Liberties as a Communist front group operating locally and meeting in the apartment of two University students, whom he named.

The CCL's purpose is to encourage resistance to the June 5 Supreme Court Decision, upholding the portion of the McCarran Act which requires Communist Party members to register as agents of a foreign government.

Fox said that Communism is not a political philosophy, but a form of "criminality," and a means for a few men to control millions. He said that American Communists believe that "civil liberties" gives them the freedom to do as they please, absolutely without restriction.

"Vilification"

Anyone who talks about the Communist menace in our midst is apt to be vilified and called a McCarthyite or worse, he said. He cited a personal attack on himself as "sensational newspaper reporting" and attributing to him "extremist statements" which he would never make.

Fox said that anyone attacking anti-communism should be asked to detail all his sources of factual information.

Question-Answer

Later, answering questions, Fox said that SAAT was founded when Frank Wilkinson, now serving a prison term for contempt of Congress after a HUAC hearing, spoke on campus and he, Fox, was asked to form an anti-communist political group.

The organization really became active with the publication of "Tocsin," a monthly mimeographed publication with a national circulation of 3,000.

Fox said that there is no screening of prospective members, and that all SAAT meetings are open to the public. But persons wishing to attend meetings must make reservations with Chairman David Haddon because of limited space at meetings, which are held in private homes.

Fox was asked for his source
(Continued on page 12)

Secret Sources of Information
Not Revealed by SAAT Director

(Continued from page 1)
of information that a Communist front group was meeting in two students' apartment. He refused to give his source of information and suggested that interested students attend meetings there. The questioner reminded Fox that he had just told his listeners to "secure carefully for sources of factual information," but Fox refused to answer. A second questioner suggested that Fox's allegations were "very close to a smear." He asked Fox to give more information or withdraw his charges. Fox replied only that he did not see how he could withdraw something he had said.

THE DAILY CALIFORNIAN
University of California
Date: 10/18/61 - page 1
Editor: F. D. JERNS
Managing Editor:
BILL WONG
Night Editor:
SISSEL HAMRE

Case: SAAT

Classification:

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DATE 10-4-88 BY SP2AC/SC

291-732

100-47243-20

SAAT Leaders Impressed by, 'Low Standards in USSR'

Index

By Jeff Demetrescu
Charles Fox, Supervisor of Students Associated Against Totalitarianism, said last night at Oxford Hall, "One is greatly impressed by the low standard of living in the Soviet Union, and the Soviet people object very strongly to the suppression of civil liberties in their country."

Speaking on his two trips to the Soviet Union in 1960, Fox said, "The report that Soviet industry and agriculture are increasing is contradictory to what one sees."

"The drab dress of the people is very depressing and reminds one of the poorer sections of American cities such as New York City's Bowery. Besides this the people eat very poorly," Fox said.

"CONDITIONS DEPLORABLE"

"The Soviet economic condition," Fox said, "is as deplorable as that of the condition of Jordan or southern Italy. What makes it worse is that the people don't seem to care."

Fox said that the Soviets are the most uninformed people in the world. To read a foreign

paper, a Soviet must go through a great amount of red tape, he said.

According to Fox, the Soviet people believe that the news they read in other papers are lies because it contradicts what they read in their own papers.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

Commenting on civil liberties, Fox said that the Soviets are very racist-minded. Their hatred toward the Chinese people is very great, he said.

Fox added that he did not think that this was the cause of the recent ill-feeling between Red China and the Soviet Union. "I do not even believe that such a feeling exists, but is an exaggeration of the newspapers," Fox said. "The Soviet people are extremely afraid to speak their opinions," Fox stated. "They have no assurance that their father is in the secret police or not."

According to Fox, the Soviet people are helpless to do anything about the suppression of their civil liberties.

Fox concluded by saying that some of the Soviet people have given up all hope and are just waiting to die.

THE DAILY CALIFORNIAN
University of California
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Managing Editor:
BILL WONG
Night Editor:
SISSEL HAMRE

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Case: SAAT
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100-47243-22

Car

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DECLASSIFIED BY 60324 AUC BAW/STP/RYS
ON 08-28-2007

TO : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-47243) ¹⁰⁶⁹⁴⁵⁶ DATE: 11/21/61

FROM : SA DONALD E. JONES

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(U) SUBJECT: SAAT (TOCSIN)
IS-C

Source	Date of and/or Description of Activity	Date Rec'd	Agent	File Where Located	"
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(U)

			JONES		
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(U) BE CERTAIN IDENTITY OF INFORMANT IS PROTECTED.

(U) On [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished SA DONALD E. JONES with a "typewritten report of above described affair. This report is set out verbatim below: ~~REDACTED~~

(U) 1-100-47243 (SAAT (TOCSIN))

cc: [redacted]

100-47067 (CCL)
100-43823 (Slate)

Read by _____
Reviewed by _____

100-45358 (C.P.YOUTH, East Bay Region) Searched _____ Indexed _____
Serialized _____ Filed _____
November 21, 1961

DEJ:mlp
(8)

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Declassify on: OADR 10-4-88

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100-47243. 23

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[REDACTED] [REDACTED]

(U)

Action to be taken based on information contained
in this report .

Route copy for PSI [REDACTED] to SA [REDACTED] File
other copies. ~~C~~

(U)

F. D. Jeans, Editor

Bill Wong, Managing Editor

Ellen Dietsch, Business Manager

Editorials make no claim to represent student or University opinion

The Right Wing-II

In yesterday's editorial on the right wing we did not have space to explain that these editorials are not directed at the rational conservative. We have stated before and will again that in the American democracy there is a place and a need for both the rational conservative and liberal. These editorials are aimed at exposing the threat presented by the irrational extreme right as we have tried previously to expose the threat of the extreme left.

Up to this point our discourse has been directed at the right wing in America and its recent manifestations. The purpose of this previous information was to give background of the manner in which the right wing is operating on this campus. The campus is becoming a battleground in the vast "Holy War" that the right has proclaimed.

The right wing is attempting to operate on this campus through an organization known as Students Association Against Totalitarianism. It is operating, as are all new right wing groups, along the tactical lines borrowed from the Communist Party.

Many of you will say: "are you kidding? Why SAAT is synonymous with Charlie Fox and he's not worth consideration . . ." You are wrong. He isn't insignificant; he is the master of a small but powerful organization tied to even larger and more powerful organizations.

The tactical methods borrowed from the Communists can be transposed on to SAAT. SAAT is a disciplined conspiracy. Its meetings are not open to the public. It operates secretly and very seldom is seen on campus. It presently serves as a springboard from which other right wing groups can start. An example is the Young Americans for Freedom, the youth movement of the John Birch Society, which will soon be active in the University community. Fox also has a network of informers who, according to him, keep him posted on the activities of members of the faculty and administration. Fox also keeps tabs on student leaders and groups through his espionage network. Fox also collects information about these people from the outside community.

Contrary to the recent plea in SAAT's organ, "Tocsin," the organization has money. An example of this is to be found in SAAT's new offices in the Medico-Dental building. Another example is Tocsin, which is a costly letter press job of printing. The man has money and money and knowledge combined make power.

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SISSEL HAMRE

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b7c

Case: SAAT
Classification:



100-47243-24

In the area of mass education, Tocsin is Fox's largest tool. Tocsin is distributed to thousands of people in the Bay Area. Comparatively little has been seen from Fox in the University community, but much effort seems to be concentrated in the outside community. Through mass letter writing campaigns to local newspapers and through Tocsin he is becoming well known. Very few people know that Fox was a member of the planning committee for the Berkeley Anti-Communism lectures.

The point to be made is not that Fox is little known in the University community, but rather that "super-patriot anti-communism" is a powerful force in America, and Charlie Fox is a powerful force in Bay Area "super-patriot anti-communist" circles.

Few realize that Fox has been approached by at least one California legislator and that he is respected and revered as the leading "anti-communist" at the "big red school" on the side of the Berkeley hills by many powerful people in the Bay Area. With only a few dozen members, Fox has made SAAT into a powerful organization furthering the hysteria which appears to be grasping the nation, and defeating those who are conscientiously and rationally fighting communism.

If Fox and his kind continue to preach hysteria without someone standing up and telling the citizenship the truth, he may succeed in destroying the rights which have made this University great. If the entire group of right wing political paranoids throughout the nation are able to sway public opinion into hysteria, they may be able to destroy American democracy.

—F. D. Jeans,
The Editor

THE BERKELEY REVIEW

VOL. 3 NO. 11 JANUARY 11, 1962

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

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TOCSIN

or TOXIN?

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DATE 10-4-88 BY SP1A03C

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In his view, contrary to what has sometimes been reported, the campus is not swarming with Communists. But there are enough Communists, and their influence is so strong, he feels, that much of his time is devoted to fighting against them.

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7 reprox copies made 10-11-62

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review interview

(Continued from Page 8)

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(Continued on Page 19)

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(Continued from Page 11)

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"I'm liberal on a great many issues. If that word means anything at all," he said, "and originally we thought of SAAT as a liberal organization, but it soon became clear that we could not get support from the so-called liberals in a program of active anti-Communism."

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By factual, however, he apparently means in most cases that the information has been accurately copied from its original source without any effort to determine whether the original source was correct.

One attorney, for example, is reported by Tocsin to have been "listed" in the un-American activities reports for 1943, 1947, 1948, 1949, and in HCUA reports for 1938, 1940, 1941, and 1943. But it doesn't say what the reports said about him.

QUITE FREQUENTLY, Fox said, interested readers are notified in advance of articles of particular interest to them or to others in their area. The January 2, 1962 issue, for example, carried a group of stories about a law firm in southern Alameda county. A man there, according to Fox, ordered 1500 copies

Tocsin to distribute in the area, mailing some of them to neighbors of the members of the firm.

Even though it is a relatively new publication, Fox points with some satisfaction to some of the things it has already accomplished. Several people, he said, have changed their wills in relation to the University of California and the Pacific School of Religion as a result of reading Tocsin.

Several other similar papers have been started in other parts of the country and some anti-Communist organizations have sprung up, especially among the nation's youth.

ALTHOUGH much of what it writes is libelous and presumably offensive to the subjects, Tocsin has so far been threatened with only two libel suits—and Fox is unconcerned about these.

"I think a libel suit would help rather than hurt us," he said. "But this is no reason to be irresponsible. I think we are very responsible, printing just the facts."

While some readers might not agree with Fox's opinion of Tocsin's responsibility, there is reason to think that the toll of the Tocsin may become louder, the toxin more virulent. As an article in the December 11, 1961 issue said:

"What are the prospects for the future of opponents of Communism? Since every month sees new attacks on those who make their opposition vocal, it is safe to predict that moderate opponents, preferring to maintain a safe silence, will be more and more drawn to the left by default. Opponents to Communism with positive beliefs will, out of frustration, be forced to sound more and more extreme as they discover they are talking to deaf ears."

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"We just print the facts," he said, "and let people make up their own minds."

By factual, however, he apparently means in most cases that the information has been accurately copied from its original source without any effort to determine whether the original source was correct.

One attorney, for example, is reported by Tocsin to have been "listed in the un-American activities reports for 1943, 1947, 1948, 1949, and in HCUA reports for 1938, 1940, 1941, and 1943." But it doesn't say what the reports said about him.

QUITE FREQUENTLY, Fox said, interested readers are notified in advance of articles of particular interest to them or to others in their area. The January 2, 1962 issue, for example, carried a group of stories about a law firm in southern Alameda county. A man there, according to Fox, ordered 1500 copies

Tocsin to distribute in the area, mailing some of them to neighbors of the members of the firm.

Even though it is a relatively new publication, Fox points with some satisfaction to some of the things it has already accomplished. Several people, he said, have changed their wills in relation to the University of California and the Pacific School of Religion as a result of reading Tocsin.

Several other similar papers have been started in other parts of the country and some anti-Communist organizations have sprung up, especially among the nation's youth.

ALTHOUGH much of what it writes is libelous and presumably offensive to the subjects, Tocsin has so far been threatened with only two libel suits—and Fox is unconcerned about these.

"I think a libel suit would help rather than hurt us," he said. "But this is no reason to be irresponsible. I think we are very responsible, printing just the facts."

While some readers might not agree with Fox's opinion of Tocsin's responsibility, there is reason to think that the toll of the Tocsin may become louder, the toxin more virulent. As an article in the December 11, 1961 issue said:

"What are the prospects for the future of opponents of Communism? Since every month sees new attacks on those who make their opposition vocal, it is safe to predict that moderate opponents, preferring to maintain a safe silence, will be more and more drawn to the left by default. Opponents to Communism with positive beliefs will, out of frustration, be forced to sound more and more extreme as they discover they are talking to deaf ears."

TOCSIN

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-7-88 BY SP1A/GSC

Vol. 3, No. 2

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA JANUARY 6, 1967

McCunn Critic Career Given

Americans who wonder if there is more than meets the eye behind the smear on the John Birch Society and those who "use Birch tactics" found a case in point last month in an attack on Dr. Drummond McCunn, superintendent of Contra Costa Junior College District.

One of those deriding Dr. McCunn was a Contra Costa lawyer and former Congressman from California who was once barred as a security risk from witnessing a Las Vegas atomic test. He is Robert L. Condon, presently a Martinez lawyer, formerly a partner of Bertram Edises and Robert E. Treuhaft, who were both identified as Communists in the HCUA report "Communist Legal Subversion."

A 1953 Naval Intelligence report to all naval commandants signed by Adm. Carl Espe, announced that the Office of Naval Intelligence had received a report from the FBI on Condon, then Congressional representative of the Sixth Congressional District of California.

"The FBI report," Espe's letter stated, "indicates that Congressman Condon has been actively associated with the Communist movement in the United States."

According to the report, Naval Intelligence said, Condon was reported to have been "a member of the Communist Party between 1930 and 1935. As late as 1949 and 1951 he was described as a member of the Communist Party by two prominent California Communists."

The Navy communique further noted
(continued on page 4)

Tocsin Articles 'Libelous,' 29/732 Marshall Windmiller Claims

TOCSIN has received a "Notice of Demand for Retraction of Libel" from Marshall Windmiller, San Francisco State College professor and co-publisher of The Liberal Democrat. It claims that TOCSIN, Dec. 11, 1961, was libelous in two different articles in which his name appeared in that they "falsely call (him) a Communist."

The interesting thing is that the notice was sent by the law offices of Newman, Marsh and Furtado of Hayward. All members of the National Lawyers Guild, which the HCUA called an "appendage to the Communist Party," in a 1950 report.

Two of the three attorneys, whose activities were described in TOCSIN, Jan. 2, have defended witnesses hostile to the Committee. At the December 1953 Committee hearings, Newman represented Joy Williams, whom a former People's World reporter (Charles Blodgett) identified there as a Communist. In 1960, Newman was counsel for Sally Seeger Attarian, who was formerly employed as Newman's secretary, and who has also been identified by the same reporter as a Communist.

At the 1953 hearings, Lloyd Lehman, former chairman of the Alameda County Communist Party, was represented by Marsh.

The third partner, Furtado, was one of the leaders that year of the "right-back" movement against the HCUA, according to the People's World, Nov. 30, 1953.

Since the material included in the Windmiller articles was purely factual, it is not susceptible of retraction. TOCSIN has lately received, with great satisfaction, a number of comments from various readers appreciative of this factually sound information.

"I think your publication is excellent," writes one subscriber. "It appears to me that you are striving to present factual information and have not allowed irresponsible statements to creep into your material. I do hope you continue this careful editing of this information is certainly what we need these days. Also, congratulations for having the courage to publish this type of information."

TOCSIN is eager to enlist as its friends rational, thinking citizens, whose first concern is the welfare of our country.

New Post for Prof With Front Record

A recent appointment to Fairleigh Dickinson University, New Jersey, was made to Gene Weltfish, as assistant professor of anthropology.

Dr. Weltfish was among bibliographical references given in a law enforcement guide prepared under Edmund Brown when the present California governor was state attorney general. (TOCSIN, Dec. 26).

A Columbia University faculty member and fellow of the Bollingen Foundation, Dr. Weltfish is listed in a number of public records and Congressional reports as a member of various pro-Communists fronts. These include the American Youth for Democracy, the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship and the National Non-Partisan Committee to Defend the 12 Communist Leaders.

A charge allegedly made by Dr. Weltfish at a 1952 Communist front meeting in New York that the U.S. was "committing the crime of dropping bubonic plague bombs on innocent children in Korea" was repeated in a press release four days later. When subpoenaed to testify in Sept. 1952 before the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee, she denied ever having made the charge and claimed the press had misquoted her. She declared she could not remember exactly what she stated.

Caen: Folksiness for Everybody

Columnist Herb Caen, who frequently devotes portions of his column to attacks on leading anti-Communists, likes to make friendly, folksy quips about leading Communists and fellow travelers. The latest appeared in his Dec. 21 column, in which he reports under the caption "Business as Usual," that "Lawyer Bob Treuhaft has taken temporary leave of his practice (but not his senses) to help his wife, Decca Mitford, complete her book on the U.S. funeral industry — 'The American Way of Death'."

Says the 1959 HCUA report "Communist Legal Subversion," page 68: "Robert Treuhaft was identified as a member of the Communist Party in sworn testimony

before the Committee . . . on Dec. 2, 1953, by Dickson P. Hill and on Dec. 3, 1953, by Charles D. Blodgett."

Of Treuhaft's wife Decca, the 1953 Burns report on Un-American Activities, declares, page 247, that she was a hostile witness against the committee's San Francisco hearing on front organizations Sept. 11 and 12, 1951.

The 1961 Burns report lists her again, page 31, as among those in attendance at a meeting Dec. 4, 1953, at which most of the participants were Communists. The meeting was called for the purpose of whipping up antagonism toward the HCUA.

100-47243-26

TOCSIN, Box 784, Berkeley 1, California, TH 3-8832
 Publisher, Charles Fox; Editor, George H. Keith;
 Staff: Mike Cobb, David Haddon, Edgar S. Parker,
 David Rosehill, Lloyd Taylor, Dale Vatory
 Published weekly; 10 issues \$1, \$5 per year
 Contributions to our work are gratefully accepted.
 Application to mail at 2nd class postage rate is
 pending at Berkeley, California.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

Who are the "peace-race" competitors implied in this San Francisco Chronicle personal ad, Dec. 21: "Women—Join the Peace Race. Bring family and friends to a Holiday Peace Program, Union Square, Dec. 30, 12:30 p.m."

Is the ad suggesting that Khrushchev is in a friendly little race for peace? How many people will buy this little bit of whitewashing?

Christmas spirit: Another ad in the Personals section of the Chronicle, Dec. 21, declared: "Adlai—tell Jackie that this year we have decided to send to UNICEF the money we usually spend for Christmas decorations. Tell Nikita, too. The Old Spaghetti Factory Cafe."

Nikita is no doubt delighted to learn that American children are paying a share of UN expenses which he refuses to pay—especially since he is using the UN to such advantage.

Familiar ring department: The Western Worker, now called the People's World, carried this page-one headline in its February 4, 1935, edition: "Wall Street Fascist Dictator Plot Bared." We thought we'd been detecting a certain monotony.

Scare Soviet People, Reason for Sputniks

A Russian student approached us on the street one evening shortly before the 1960 May Day celebration and walked around the streets of Moscow with us for more than three hours.

An economics major, he declared that he had never been given an explanation of why the USSR spends such a large proportion of its budget on sputniks when the population is, "as you see," he said, "living on a near-subsistence level."

"Can you suggest a reason?" he asked.

We submitted that the Soviet government felt it important to impress the rest of the world with its power.

"Not the rest of the world!" he denied. "It is the Soviet people that the government wants to impress with the strength of its missiles and its army. That way the people will always be too afraid to protest."

Soviet Spy Figure Was Berkeleyite Silvermaster Former East Bay Instructor

A precious arm in the Communist strategy arsenal is the simple but psychologically valid principle that the public has a short memory. When even loyal Bay Area residents pooh-poohed the evidence that there was Communist influence behind the May 1960 riots as an absurd fantasy of red-baiters, they forgot the recorded facts that the East Bay had spawned one of the central figures in a wartime Soviet espionage ring—a well-publicized case which should have shocked local residents into eternal vigilance.

But by 1960 most East Bay residents had forgotten the name of Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, who once lived at 2414 Channing Way, Berkeley, three blocks from the University of California campus.

A Russian-born former professor of economics at St. Mary's College, Moraga, from 1925 to 1931, Silvermaster was named by Elizabeth Bentley in 1948 HCUA hearings as her main contact in an immense network of Washington spies transmitting documents to the Soviet Union.

CONTACTS NAMED

She visited Silvermaster every two weeks and carried back to New York the material gathered by his ring. She told in Ralph De Toledano's "Seeds of Treason" (page 161, condensed version) of having subsequently become a contact for a second ring headed by Victor Perlo, a Whittaker Chambers protege. In all, she was the go-between for Russia with approximately 20 people in two groups and about 10 more free-lance individuals.

She identified Silvermaster, then with the Farm Security Administration, as her principle source of documents when she was working with the first spy group named.

"The head of the most important group," says a Senate Sub-committee report on subversion, "originally run by Jacob Golos, Soviet spy leader now believed dead, was . . . Silvermaster, at one time, an employee of the Department of Labor and now (1945) with the U.S. Treasury Dept." The Senate report was dated July 30, 1953, and entitled "Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments."

PLANS PHOTOGRAPHED

It takes the above quotation from a declassified FBI report which stated further: "Another member of this group who resides with Silvermaster is William L. Ullman, a major of the U.S. Army Air

Forces stationed at the Pentagon Bldg., who has been responsible for the obtaining and photographing of classified information regarding U.S. Government war plans and also reports of the FBI, copies of which had been furnished to G-2 of the Army at the Pentagon."

Named in the same report as members of the group were A. George Silverman, a civilian employee of the War Dept.; Harry Dexter White, assistant secretary of the Treasury in charge of monetary research and foreign funds control; William Taylor, also an employee of the Treasury Dept.; and Lauchlin Currie, administrative assistant to the President. (Editor's note: Currie is presently believed to be acting as an economics adviser to the government of Colombia, one of the recipients of funds under Kennedy's Alliance for Progress program.)

Miss Bentley testified, according to a press release dated Oct. 21, 1953, that Communists working in the U.S. government had orders to help Russia get printing plates to produce vast sums of German occupation currency. These plates were given to the Russians in 1944, with the approval of Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau. Miss Bentley named William Ullman and Silvermaster as responsible for the arrangement. Though they were both present during her testimony, neither would say whether or not her accusations were true.

LAB IN BASEMENT

A declassified FBI report to the President, dated Feb. 4, 1946, and reported in the San Francisco Examiner, Nov. 18, 1953, said that the information and documents originating in the Treasury Dept. were either passed on in substance or photographed by Ullman in a well-equipped laboratory in the basement of the Silvermaster home.

The Examiner article said that in the summer or fall of 1943, the Silvermasters decided that they should have someone placed as a secretary to Harry Dexter White in order more easily to obtain information from his office in the Treasury Dept. for delivery to Soviet agents.

Mrs. Helen Witte Silvermaster consequently went to one of the Communist agents in Washington, D.C., and obtained the name of Sonia Steinman Gold. Through subsequent arrangement with White, Mrs. Gold was hired as a secretary. From this post she was able to copy documents from White's office and transmit them to Mrs. Silvermaster. The information thus obtained concerned mainly recommendations of the department on applications for loans from the French and Chinese governments.

(continued on page 3)

Clues to Pro-Soviet Trend Sought in Instructor Bias

How influential can an economics professor be in guiding his students toward "tolerance" of Marxist theory? Do three decades of pro-Soviet professorial bias partly account for today's increasing pressure for an accommodation with the Soviet system and an end to the once general suspicion in which it was held?

These are two questions which might merit the attention of alumni of the classes of Robert A. Brady, professor emeritus of the University of California, when they seek to explain the present undeniable trend toward greater acceptance of Marxism.

Brady's affiliations include membership on the national advisory board of the American Friends of the Chinese people, according to a letterhead, May 16, 1940; sponsorship of the San Francisco branch of the same organization, according to the Tenney Report, 1948, page 144; and membership on the national committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy, a declared subversive organization, May 18, 1939.

AFFILIATIONS TOLD

He was also associate editor of *Black and White*, a pro-Communist magazine; a member of the northern division of the Harry Bridges Defense Committee, according to a letterhead, Aug. 14, 1939; national sponsor of the Motion Picture Artists' Committee; signer, page 25, of an open letter for closer cooperation with the Soviet Union, Sept. 1939.

Brady, who joined the U.C. faculty in 1929, was one of the 400 signers from that institution of a letter which fiercely denied the similarity of the techniques of Hitler and Stalin. It appeared, Aug. 14, 1939, in *The Daily Worker*, just nine days before the Hitler-Stalin friendship pact.

In reference to Brady's book "The Spirit and Structure of German Fascism," Congressman Tabor commenting on a statement of Martin Dies, then head of HCUA, called the book "full of Communism from cover to cover," according to a June 26, 1941, press release.

BRADY BOOK

Another Brady book was "Business As an Instrument of Power," a Marxian analysis of the U.S. economic structure.

Brady was a faculty member of the Tom Mooney Labor School, which became the California Labor School, a now defunct Communist Front. The Communist People's World announced in the Oct. 7, 1943, edition that Brady would

teach a course during the fall term on war economics.

Brady quit Berkeley on a leave of absence, announced Dec. 28, 1944, to spend a semester at the University of Chicago as adviser and observer of that institution's "Experimental Plan." Under the plan, students finishing their sophomore year of high school were provided with four years of study in a special field.

In an attack on what was captioned "the Henry Wallace Bailiwick," columnist George Sokolsky listed Brady as one of the advisers of the Consumers' National Foundation. The writer blasted the Brady-supported plan to abolish trade marks and substitute grade labels. The plan would have forced on the public a government subsidized press and would have eliminated advertising, Sokolsky charged. He said further that Brady had been removed from a position in the wartime Office of Price Administration after accusations of Communist activities.

OPPOSES BAN

After the war Brady was among civic leaders who denounced a relief ban on Yugoslavia following an air incident involving a U.S. plane (P.W., Sept. 11, 1946).

In the same year he predicted a U.S. depression within two to five years "under present conditions."

"When it occurs," he said in the *Oakland Tribune*, Dec. 1, 1946, "the U.S. will face the same situation which led to the rise of Hitler. We have all the elements here, including racial animosity, which led to internal disorder in Germany."

In 1947 he was a Wallace-for-President supporter and spoke on this subject at Willard Junior High School, Oct. 10. Under the auspices of the Fellowship of Humanity he delivered an address on Britain's welfare state, Jan. 15, 1950. At an all-day conference May 16, 1953, on "Can We Have Prosperity Without a War Economy?" Brady's topic was "What Is the Cost of War?"

Katanga Wealth

Katanga is strategically important because it is the world's largest producer of uranium. It has more than 70 per cent of the world's cobalt resources and is rich in radium, copper, zinc, lead, cadmium and other minerals.

Silvermaster

(continued from page 2)

FRIEND OF WHITE

The FBI report pointed out that it was White who got Silvermaster his Treasury Dept. job and that Silvermaster had a long record of reported association with Communist fronts, known Communists and Soviet espionage suspects.

In March 1946 Silvermaster was promoted to the post of chief economist of the War Assets Administration's Division of Economic and Market Research. Ullman and Irving Kaplan stayed on with the Treasury Dept. even after release of the report by the FBI, apparently without any restrictions being placed on their activity.

The reports of Silvermaster's wartime espionage activities were not the first revelations of his interest in Soviet causes.

He resigned from St. Mary's College in 1931 to become director of research and surveys for the SERA, state relief agency. In this position he was instrumental in obtaining the reinstatement of a number of discharged SERA employees with allegedly pro-Communist sympathies.

And even in his student days, Silvermaster had obtained his doctoral degree on the basis of a thesis in which the Soviet economic system was lauded.

Cause for Alarm

Current attacks on "alarmists," who deplore the increasingly successful Soviet takeover of the world, have obscured the fact that a decade ago the United States was indisputably the strongest nation in the world. If the U.S. loses as much in the 60's as it did in the 50's, there is every reason to believe there will be no U.S. left. The position of the "alarmist" is founded in realistic and justified alarm that no steps are being taken to reverse the trend toward Soviet world control. We are still in a position to act from strength — if we only would.

Letter to the Editor

Dear Sir: A letter was printed in the San Francisco Chronicle in which a TOCSIN subscriber condemned the John Birch Society in the usual manner. I am reading the books which are recommended by the Birch Society and believe that no one is in a position to understand the basic purpose of this group until he investigates for himself. The recommended reading list can be obtained from "American Opinion," Belmont 78, Mass.

Mrs. Philip Kavich
1616 Mountain Blvd.
Oakland, California

Famous last words: Show me a strong anti-communist and I'll show you a rigid and authoritarian personality.

TOCSIN, Box 784, Berkeley 1, California

I enclose \$..... for

..... a ten-issue subscription (\$1.00)

..... a one-year subscription (\$5.00),

..... a contribution to your work

Signed

Please send a \$..... subscription

to

Condon

(continued from page 1)

that Condon was identified as the author of an article which appeared in the May 16, 1947, edition of the then Daily People's World, West Coast Communist newspaper. The Navy also mentioned his 1947-49 membership in "an Oakland law firm which represented the Communist Party in the Alameda-Contra Costa Counties."

Condon was reported, in addition, to have stated in 1943 that the "might of the Red Army" was about all the colored races had on their side in the creation of a decent post-war world, and that he gave thanks that the USSR was one of our allies who would sit at the peace table.

"The FBI report states further," the Navy report wrote, "that Condon has been a member of, has contributed to, and has associated with approximately 20 Communist Party 'fronts' and infiltrated organizations from 1938 to the present time. He reportedly stated in the 1930's that he was going into politics 'so he could do both himself and the Communist Party some good'."

Condon described to the press on July 6, 1953, having been barred from watching an atomic test in Nov. 1953 after he had arrived at the test site. Next day the Oakland Tribune reported that in addition to the nuclear test, there had been talk of canceling a Mare Island ship launching at which Condon was to be the chief speaker six days after the A-tests.

A People's World editorial of July 9, 1953, claimed that the Condon test barring was an "issue involving far bigger things than whether Condon should be permitted to watch an atomic test or dedicate a battleship. It is whether the people have the right to elect officials without interference from J. Edgar Hoover and sundry other snoopers and witchhunters."

The paper reiterated Condon's claim that the FBI reports branding him a security risk were a "stale rehash of discredited charges made against him by his Republican opponent and repudiated by the voters in the last election." These charges "grew out of his activities as a labor lawyer, his political career as a liberal and his getting support from the working people," Condon claimed.

The same month, Condon spoke before the House of Representatives to deny the disloyalty charges. He was reported in the San Francisco Examiner, Aug. 4, 1953, to have turned down an invitation to testify before the Joint Atomic Energy Committee on the test-barring case.

Meanwhile the People's World was playing on the Condon issue to sow its "anti-Fascist" propaganda line. An Aug. 11, 1963, item reported that a railroad union viewed the "FBI-based smear" on Condon as "a warning of fascism in the U.S."

Condon rallied the support of various

groups during succeeding months, but in a Dec. 3, 1953, hearing before the HCUA in San Francisco, Condon was identified by a former Communist as having attended a closed party meeting in 1948.

The witness was Charles D. Blodgett, former reporter for the People's World, who described the Oakland meeting as an emergency session of the party's Political Affairs Committee to discuss election strategy.

Declining an invitation to appear personally before the HCUA, Condon issued a statement from New Orleans denying he was ever a Communist but saying he may have attended the 1948 meeting (Tribune, Dec. 4, 1953).

"I have no intention of talking to Mr. Velde (Rep. Howard H. Velde, committee chairman)," Condon said, "because I think it is a Republican committee touring the country to smear Democrats." (Editor's note: Present HCUA chairman is Representative Francis Walter, Democrat, Penn.)

Condon fought and lost a legal battle in 1953 with station KGO-TV, San Francisco, claiming the station had promised him air time to answer charges of Communist affiliation.

He testified before the Joint Atomic Energy Committee in Washington, Jan. 26, 1954, that he was not and never had been a Communist Party member, and declared that the meeting reported by Blodgett was merely a session on political strategy between Democratic leaders in California and leaders of the new Independent Progressive Party.

In his testimony Blodgett had declared that the Political Affairs Committee was a "key organization of the Communist structure and was charged with the actual implementation of the party line in every phase of party activity, especially politics and the selection and election of candidates."

In all his experience, he said, he had never known a non-Communist to be present at such a meeting.

In the second day of his testimony before the Joint Committee, Condon erupted

when asked about his former law partners, Edises and Treuhaft. He exclaimed that he never had and never would ask them if they are Communists, no matter what charges were brought by his political opponents (Oakland Tribune, Jan. 27, 1954).

"Did you ever advocate the Marxist philosophy as a student at the University of California?" Condon was asked by Senator Hickenlooper.

"I would say no," Condon answered, and added that he did not fully remember what he may have stated 15 years ago.

Asked about his association with Bert Coffey, then Contra Costa County Democratic leader, who had admitted being a former Communist, Condon said he knew Coffey after Coffey had quit the party.

Condon told the Tribune, Apr. 20, 1954, he would ignore the "Republican" charges made against him and campaign for reelection to Congress on the "poor record" of Congress and the Republican administration. Next day he turned briefly to the international scene to urge non-intervention in the Indo-China war.

Stephen A. Mitchell, Democratic national chairman, urged Condon to withdraw from the Congressional race because of the charges of Communism, according to a P.W. article of Apr. 13, 1954.

Meanwhile John Baldwin, Jr., Republican opponent of Condon in the Congressional race, cited Condon's voting record on internal security bills.

Baldwin charged that Condon was the only man of the 30-man California delegation who did not cast a favorable vote on any of the nine measures pertaining to strengthening of internal security against Communist infiltration, which had been voted on by roll call in the House that year.

Defeated in the 1954 November election, Condon returned to law practice.

Still apparently interested in loyalty-security questions, he spoke in January 1955 on "The Armed Forces Loyalty Program" under sponsorship of a group called Californians for the Bill of Rights.

TOCSIN

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WOMEN FOR PEACE MEET

Local Communists Join 'Assembly'

A large group of identified Bay Area Communists participated in the "Assembly for Peace," sponsored April 21 by the militant Bay Area Women for Peace in San Francisco's Golden Gate Park.

Among the Communists attending were: Aubrey Grossman, lawyer; Frances Tandy, retired telephone operator; Al Richmond, editor of the People's World; Walter Stack, waterfront veteran; Holland Roberts, former director of the California Labor School now associated with the American-Russian Institute; Carl Bloice, People's World writer; and Saul Wachter, Berkeley auto worker.

In addition the wives of Stack, Grossman and Wachter were also participants.

An announcement distributed by Women for Peace stated that the meeting would be open to "all men of good will."

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DATE 10-11-88 BY SP1 AGJ/C

291-732

cc:



WOMEN FOR PEACE 100-48035



Cus

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5/15/62

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10/11/62
DIRECTOR, FBI

10/11/62

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SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-47243)

"TOCSIN"

Published by Students Associated
Against Totalitarianism (SAAT)
University of California at Berkeley,

INFORMATION CONCERNING

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 10-4-88 BY SP1AG JC

Re San Francisco letter to Bureau dated 2/15/61

291-732

captioned

INFORMATION CONCERNING (CENTRAL RESEARCH
SECTION)*.

For the information of the offices receiving
copies of this letter, re San Francisco letter contained
results of interview with [redacted] in 2/61. [redacted] at that
time, was a graduate student of the University of Calif-
ornia, who is extremely opposed to the Soviet Union, the
Communist Party, etc.

Copies of this letter are being furnished to
the Bureau and other offices in order that the other
offices will be aware of the fact that the Bureau has
been advised of this publication and of information
regarding its [redacted]

The captioned publication and student organi-
zation, which is anti-communist in nature, has not
been investigated by this Office. In view of the increas-
ing distribution of this publication and possible
inquiries to the Bureau and West Coast Offices, Xerox
copies of an article appearing in the 1/11/62 issue of
the "Berkeley Review" concerning this publication are
enclosed for information purposes.

- 2 - Bureau (ENCL. 2) (REG.)
- 1 - Los Angeles (ENCL. 1) (REG.)
- 1 - Seattle (ENCL. 1) (REG.)
- 1 - Portland (ENCL. 1) (REG.)
- 1 - San Diego (ENCL. 1) (REG.)
- 1 - San Francisco

EJO/af
(6)

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Index
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Re-open & clear
on this
100-47243-28

Optional Form No. 10
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
M E M O R A N D U M

b6
b7C

TO : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-51111)

DATE: 8/13/63

FROM : SA [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: BERKELEY CO-OP
SM - MISCELLANEOUS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 10-4-88 BY SP1 AG 50
291-732

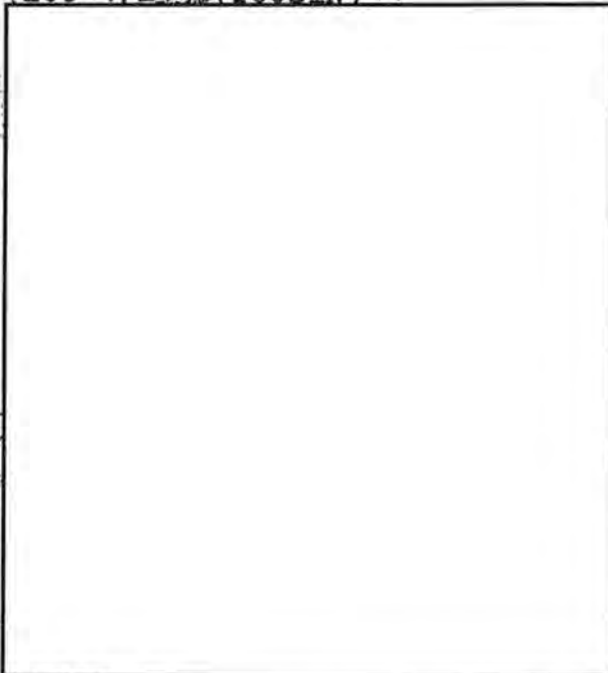
Attached with ^{original} memo is a copy of TOCSIN, an anti-communist newspaper published weekly in Berkeley, California, and a photostatic copy of "Co-op News" dated 6/20/63, listing candidates for Center Councilmen and Congressmen.

The above issue of TOCSIN devoted two-thirds of the front page to the Berkeley Co-op elections and listed candidates who are reportedly veteran communists. A copy of this memo is being placed in the files of all subjects referred to in this article.

ACTION RECOMMENDED: File.

In the event public source information/identifying respective subjects with CP or related activity, the original copy of this memo might be referred to. ^{is needed}

23 - San Francisco (100-51111)
cc: 100-47243 (TOCSIN)



Read by _____
Reviewed by _____

Searched.....	Indexed.....
Serialized.....	Filed.....
AUGUST 13, 1963	
FBI - SAN FRANCISCO	

BT (#10):lms
(23)

100-47243-29

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

OUR LAST ISSUE

100-47243

Tocsin to Quit Publication

TOCSIN regrettably announces that this is our last issue.

Our suspension is forced by a lack of response sufficient to permit continuance of the kind of anti-Communist weekly to which we have dedicated ourselves for nearly three years.

During that period TOCSIN's existence has been a precarious one. Waves of enthusiasm and financial support have been followed by apathy. Having to finance the paper on virtually a week-to-week basis during the latter periods is an extra burden to which we can no longer submit.

TOCSIN has steadfastly tried to maintain itself as an anti-Communist publication which was at the same time responsible, factual and relevant to its chosen subject. It has never permitted itself those flights of fancy through which some self-proclaimed anti-Communist organizations are able to win support from both the gullible and those who want their anti-Communism to be "colorful." For them, the John Birch Society — which has been among TOCSIN's most persistent detractors — may seem a more deserving cause.

To produce a well-researched and informative paper devoted only to the facts of anti-Communism is already an exhausting task in itself. It is no privilege. It therefore strikes us as ludicrous that we should have continually to beg for the opportunity.

Our goal at TOCSIN has been only to alert Americans to the fact that Communism is a clear and present danger. The lukewarm response to TOCSIN is a clear indication to us that we are not succeeding and that our time could be better spent otherwise.

Hopefully, Americans may yet realize before it is too late that Communism must be opposed steadily, not when the mood strikes them. Though we are forced to suspend publication, we are retaining our equipment and research facilities for a time in the faint hope that at some future date they can somehow be put to use again in the fight against a problem that faces all Americans.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

1 Tocsin

Oakland, Calif.

Date: 1-29-64

Edition: Weekly

Author:

Editor: Geo. H. Keith

Title:

Character:

or

Classification: San

Submitting Office: Francisco

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-4-82 BY SP1AG/SC

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 28 1964	
FBI - SAN FRANCISCO	

Cpy.

100-47243-30

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b7D

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO [REDACTED]

5/18/64

SA [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
FORMER PSI

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-4-88 BY SP1 ABJ/FC

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

The writer, in the past, has made a definite effort not to contact [REDACTED] because it would not be wise to set up any liaison between Tocsin and the FBI. It should be noted that [REDACTED] might possibly be the [REDACTED] aka, [REDACTED] SM-C, [REDACTED] This file was reviewed and no information was determined which indicated that [REDACTED] has a [REDACTED] however, it was noted that he was married in 1942.

2 - San Francisco [REDACTED]
1 - 100-47243 (Tocsin)
BT:cle
(2)

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 18 1964	
FBI - SAN FRANCISCO	

100-47243-31

[REDACTED]

BT:cle

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Office indices negative on the above-mentioned students.

ACTION RECOMMENDED

This information should be referred to the security supervisor, #8, to determine if the information is of any value in security investigations.

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-51111)

9/22/64

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SA [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
INFORMATION CONCERNING

ACTION RECOMMENDED: File.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-4-88 BY SP1 AOB JC

2 - San Francisco
(1) - 100-47243 ("TOSCIN")
BT:sar
(2) *oan*

100-47243-32

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED <i>KP</i>	FILED <i>KP</i>
OCT 7 1964	
FBI - SAN FRANCISCO	

[Signature]

DC
5-21
SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-50069)

5/11/65

SA [REDACTED]

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUB
BERKELEY CHAPTER
IS - C

[REDACTED] former PSI, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] whose identity should be
concealed by request, advised on [REDACTED] that he attended
a rally at UC, Berkeley, at noon on 4/21/65, sponsored
by the W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUB, Berkeley Chapter, opposing
the HUAC. The featured speaker was the [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] submitted a typewritten report on [REDACTED] speech
which is filed in [REDACTED] A copy of the report is
attached as a second and third page of this memo.

ACTION RECOMMENDED

File.

8 - San Francisco

- 1 - 100-50069 (WEB DU BOIS CLUB, BERKELEY CHAPTER)
- 1 - 100-36084 (HUAC)
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-51877 (INCAUAC)
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- ① - 100-47243 (TOCSTIN)/
- 1 - [REDACTED]

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-4-88 BY SP1 AGJ

291-732

HP:SMV
(8)

CS

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 17 1965	
FBI - SAN FRANCISCO	

100-47243-33

Anti-HUAC mtg 4-27-65 101 Cal Hall noon

Sponsor WEB DuBois Berkeley Chapter

Spkr: [REDACTED]

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DATE 10-4-88 BY SP1ABJ

Small audience (50). [REDACTED] talk was primarily aimed at 291-132

HUAC's attack on religious leaders. He specifically named

[REDACTED] He stated HUAC was segre-

gationist and the idea of having it investigate KKK was like

having Gov. Wallace help the civil rights movement. He was

an unimaginative speaker and the audience seemed only slightly

interested. During the question period when asked what was

being done to appose HUAC he referred to the National Comm. to

Abolish HUAC ... he always used the plural prnnoun when talking

about anti-HUAC activities. He explained about "their" SF office

and pointed to [REDACTED] in the audience. [REDACTED]

asked how they could corral [REDACTED] into the Anti-HUAC camp. [REDACTED]

said letters are the answer. He was asked if HUAC was coming.

He said he didn't know, but he had written [REDACTED] asking his help

in keeping the Red Shirts away. Another student said [REDACTED]

said they were coming next month. Another question: What do you

suggest we do if HUAC does come to town. [REDACTED] said he wouldn't

know, but that 1960 made a big impression on the Committee and

suggested that another demnnstration like that would be valuable.

He was asked if his suit against TOCSIN was aimed at HUAC. His

answer was evasive, but in general suggested that it was, and that

he expected it would go all the way to the Supreme Court. He said

when they got to court within a year not only TOCSIN, but forty

defendants would be ~~xxxxxx~~ subpoenaed; people who had contributed to the support of TOCSIN. He described it as a slanderous smear rag, etc..... He said the bulk of TOCSIN's material came from HUAC reports and that TOCSIN apparently had an open door to the Committee.

Very few questions - group generally apathetic. None of the DuBois leaders appeared to be present. Unidentified girl (She made announcement about distorted Post story.) was [redacted]

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After meeting [redacted] walked to Student Union Dining Room with [redacted] and another man. [redacted] was showing everyone at DuBois table his Post copy.

[redacted] was at meeting - approached [redacted] right after. Left with [redacted] (?).

Chicago Tribune

5/25/65

Change in U.S. Red Tactics Is Predicted

BY JAMES STRONG

Changes in the Communist party in the United States from its top leadership to over-all tactics were predicted by Charles Fox at the opening session yesterday of the Greater Chicago School of Anti-Communism in the Edgewater Beach hotel.

Fox, publisher of a weekly newspaper on communism, explained that the "hard line" position taken by the United States in Viet Nam and Santo Domingo has caused a "stunning" effect in Moscow and will lead to the disruption of the Communist party in the United States or force it to adopt new leadership.

Position Called Crucial

"If the administration maintains this hard line policy we can expect Gus Hall, an advocate of co-existence, to be deposed in a move similar to the fall of Earl Browder 13 years ago," he said.

The Communist party in the United States is in a crucial position and will have to change its tactics and leadership with increased interest in and recruitment of youth.

The Communist party is now in competition with other groups and no longer satisfies the natural excitement of youth.

Movements Cited

Fox cited the W. F. Dubois clubs as the main youth club of the Communist party and the Progressive Labor movement, which has fared well including the May 3 movement and is an active club in the Midwest as the two most powerful of the Communist oriented movements on college campuses. A third, the Young Socialist Alliance, has fewer



(TRIBUNE Staff Photo)

Dr. Fred Schwarz, director of Greater Chicago School of Anti-Communism, speaking yesterday in Edgewater Beach hotel, while Herbert Philbrick, its moderator, sat beside him.

members but is more militant, Fox said.

Fox, a former instructor at the University of California at Berkeley, said that the West coast campus has become a training ground for Communist youth movements throught the country because of the tolerant, hospitable and open-door policy by the school.

More than 120 persons registered for the first session of the school which will continue thru Friday.

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SERIALIZED FILED
JUN 18 1965

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100-47243-34

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

DECLASSIFIED BY 60324 AUC BAW/STP/RYS.
ON 08-01-2007

1069456

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-4931)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DATE: 7/19/65

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO [REDACTED]

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP4 JPL/ast

REASON - FCIM 11, 1-2.4.2

DATE OF REVIEW 2/10/92

SUBJECT: CP, USA
IS - C

FORMER [REDACTED]
DISCONTINUED SECURITY INFORMANT

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[REDACTED] was discontinued as a security informant
for the [REDACTED] Office as of [REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

14 - New York (RM)
cc: 100-4931

PROGRESSIVE YOUTH ORGANIZING COMMITTEE
FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE
"NATIONAL GUARDIAN"
CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES
HERBERT APTHEKER
ELIZABETH G. FLYNN
KIMAR GOSHAL
GUS HALL

Classified by SP1 AGJCO
Declassify on: OADR 10/4/88

291-732

1 - Atlanta (MARTIN LUTHER KING)(RM)
1 - Birmingham (MARTIN LUTHER KING)(RM)
2 - Denver (RM)

cc: CP, USA

1 - Detroit (NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD)(RM)
1 - Honolulu (CP, USA)(RM)
9 - Los Angeles (RM)

cc: CP, USA

"PEOPLE'S WORLD"
HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES
PETTUS PERRY

Searched
Serialized
Indexed
Filed

FRANK WILKINSON

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(Copies Continued on Page 2)

100-47243-35

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4 - San Diego (RM)
cc: "PEOPLE'S WORLD"
CP, USA
CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES
HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
737 - San Francisco
cc: 61-239* (AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION)
61-288* (AMERICAN RUSSIAN INSTITUTE)
61-306* (CP, ALAMEDA COUNTY)
61-363 (NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD)
61-390 (CALIFORNIA LABOR SCHOOL)
61-551 (NORTHERN CALIFORNIA COMMITTEE FOR
THE PROTECTION OF THE FOREIGN BORN)
61-603 (CP, EAST BAY REGION)
97-27 ("PEOPLE'S WORLD")
97-347 (FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE)
100-6258 (INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S AND
WAREHOUSEMEN'S UNION)
100-7514 (WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND
FREEDOM)
100-9720 (CP, NEGRO QUESTION)
100-10511 (COMINFIL, AFSC)
100-11596 (NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT
OF COLORED PEOPLE)
100-11889 (NORTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT OF THE CP)
100-21283 (CP, CONTRA COSTA COUNTY)
100-21305 (CP, NORTH OAKLAND CLUB)
100-21306 (CP, HAYWARD)
100-21318 (CP, WEST OAKLAND)
100-24677 (EAST BAY BOOK CENTER)
100-24927 (CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY)
100-25085 (CP FUNDS)
100-25347 (CP, USA, POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)
100-25539 (CP, USA, BRIEF)
100-25687 (CP, USA, SECURITY MEASURES)
100-26165 (CP PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS)
100-26239 (CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP)
100-26455 (YOUTH CLUB)
100-26546 (CP, USA, EDUCATION)
100-27334 (CP - RELIGION)
100-27418 (CP, USA, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
100-27675 (CP, BERKELEY #2)
100-27747 (CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)
100-27791 (CP FACTIONALISM)
100-27792 (CP, FARMER MATTER)
100-27793 (LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES)
100-27806 (YOUTH MATTERS)

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100-28048 (CP, FILLMORE CLUB)
 100-28630 (CP, STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
 100-28718 (CP, USA, DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATIVE ISSUES)
 100-28721 (NATIONAL GROUPS COMMISSION)
 100-28897 (CP, EAST OAKLAND)
 100-29454 (CP, EAST BAY PROFESSIONAL SECTION)
 100-30122 (CP, BERKELEY SECTION)
 100-30165 (CP, INDUSTRIAL SECTION)
 100-30512 (CP, AFL & CIO SECTION)
 100-30619 (CP, UNDERGROUND OPERATIONS)
 100-30717 (CP, USA, PARTY LINE)
 100-31356 ("NATIONAL GUARDIAN")
 100-31707 (EAST OAKLAND PEACE COMMITTEE)
 100-32225 (CP TACTICS AGAINST FBI)
 100-32806 (CP, USA, VS. SACB)
 100-33359 (CP, USA, ATTEMPTS TO INFILTRATE MASS ORGANIZATIONS)
 100-33527 (NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL)
 100-34204 (UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA GENERAL)
 100-35117 (EAST BAY SOBELL COMMITTEE)
 100-35565 (NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO REPEAL THE MC CARRAN ACT OF 1963)
 100-35765 (CP IN PARENT-TEACHERS ASSOCIATION)
 100-36089 (CP, OAKLAND)
 100-36233 (FRIENDS COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION)
 100-369851 (HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES)
 100-39254 (EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE)
 100-41278 (CP MACHINIST)
 100-41299 (CP, EAST BERKELEY)
 100-41302 (CP, WEST BERKELEY)
 100-41309 (CP, WAREHOUSE LOCAL NUMBER 6)
 100-41421 (BERKELEY CHAMBER MUSIC)
 100-41808 (CP CLUB NUMBER 3 - SN)
 100-41858 (CINAL)
 100-41993 (EAST BAY LABOR SCHOOL)
 100-42321 (JACK LONDON CLUB)
 100-42399 (CP, USA, CIP)
 100-42407 (POWELL SCHUMAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE)
 100-42454 (CP H CLUB, BERKELEY)
 100-42455 (CP F CLUB, BERKELEY)
 100-42456 (CP E CLUB, BERKELEY)
 100-42457 (CP D CLUB, BERKELEY)
 100-42458 (CP B CLUB, BERKELEY)
 100-42947 (MARK TWAIN MARXIST STUDY GROUP)
 100-43450 (YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE)
 100-43478 (NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBER VIEWPOINT)

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100-43693 (KPFA - PACIFICA FOUNDATION)
100-43803 (CP, RICHMOND CLUB)
100-43805 (CP, WAREHOUSE CLUB)
100-43807 (CP, ENGINEERS CLUB)
100-43816 (CP, BERKELEY #1)
100-43823 (SLATE)
100-43826 (EAST BAY BOOKSTORE)
100-43933 (PLANS TO FORM NEW POLITICAL PARTY)
100-43979 (NORTHERN CALIFORNIA COMMITTEE FOR
ABOLITION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS)
100-44247 (INDEPENDENT VOTERS OF CALIFORNIA)
100-44792 (YOUTH MARCH)
100-45224 (TEACHERS DEFENSE COMMITTEE)
100-45232 (SAFE)
100-45272 (EAST BAY COMMITTEE FOR FREEDOM IN EDUCATION)
100-45337 (NORTHERN CALIFORNIA TEACHERS DEFENSE COMMITTEE)
100-45339 (SAN FRANCISCO COMMITTEE FOR FREEDOM IN
EDUCATION)
100-45358 (CP YOUTH CLUB)
100-45724 (COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES)
100-45768 (COMINFIL, COUNCIL OF DEMOCRATIC CLUB)
100-46602 (PROGRESSIVE YOUTH ORGANIZATION)
100-46615 (STANFORD UNIVERSITY GENERAL)
100-47016 (PRESIDENTIAL PEACE CORPS)
100-47067 (CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES)
100-47243 (SAAT - TOCSIN)
100-47626 (STEP)
100-47692 (NATIONAL ASSEMBLY FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS)
100-48035 (WOMEN FOR PEACE)
100-49371 (BILL OF RIGHTS DAY)
100-49798 (STUDENTS COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES)
100-49956 (COMINFIL, CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY)
100-49959 (CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, BERKELEY CHAPTER)
100-50069 (EAST BAY W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUB)
100-50214 (HALL - DAVIS DEFENSE COMMITTEE)
100-50451 (AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR MARXIST STUDIES)
100-50519 (AFRO-AMERICAN GROUP)
100-50764 (LIMA - PROCTOR DEFENSE COMMITTEE)
100-51473 (NATION OF ISLAM)
100-51515 (YOUTH FOR JOBS)
100-51562 (BERKELEY FAIR HOUSING ORDINANCE)
100-51876 (CP RECRUIT - UNSUB)
100-52664 (W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA)
105-6505 (MIDDLE EAST SITUATION)
105-13236 (CUBAN CRISIS)

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157-245 (RACIAL MATTERS)
157-258 (RACIAL MATTERS, BERKELEY)
157-266 (RACIAL MATTERS, OAKLAND)
100-25203* (JOHN ABT)

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100-40880 (HERBERT APTHEKER)

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39-30 (HARRY BRIDGES)

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100-25482 (BEN DAVIS)

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100-307 (ELIZABETH G. FLYNN)

100-649 (LOUIS GOLDBLATT)

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100-27794 (KIMAR GOSHAL)

100-34275 (GUS HALL)

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100-52821 (MARTIN LUTHER KING)
100-51914A (MARTIN LUTHER KING)

100-39243 (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)

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65-4677 (VICTOR PERLO)

100-13120 (PETTUS PERRY)

100-1465 (JOHN PITTMAN)

100-51343 (A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH)

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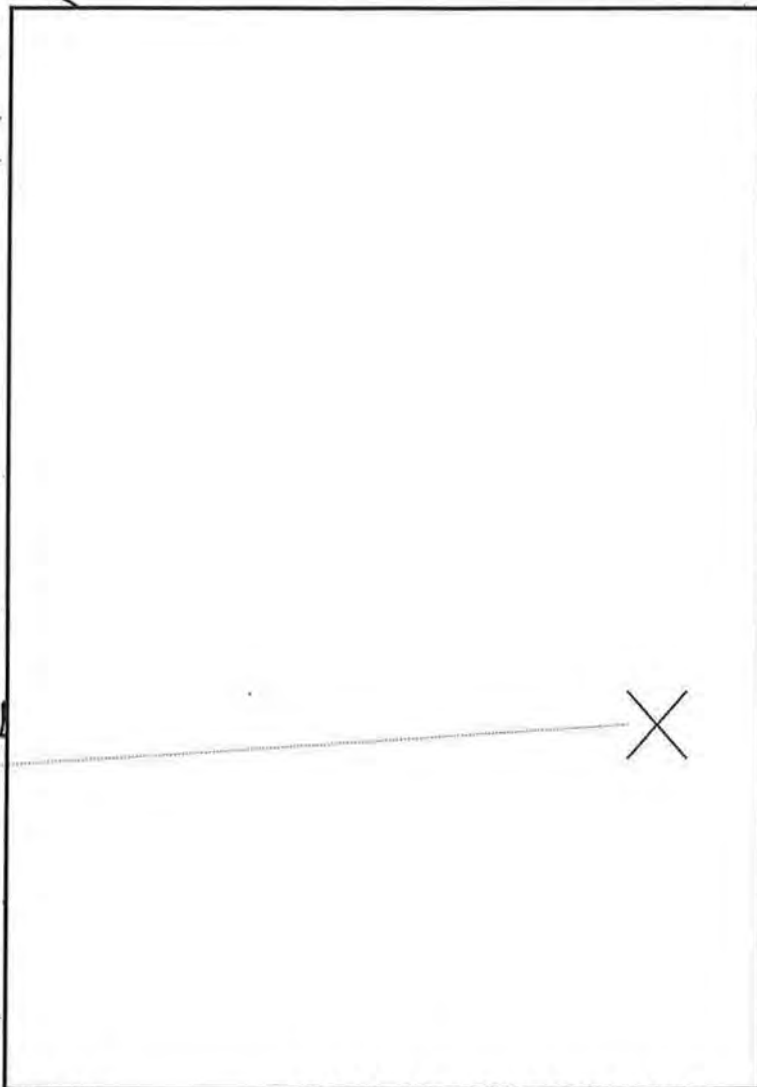
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[Handwritten mark]

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97-26

(WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN)



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65-4228 (MORTON SOBELL)

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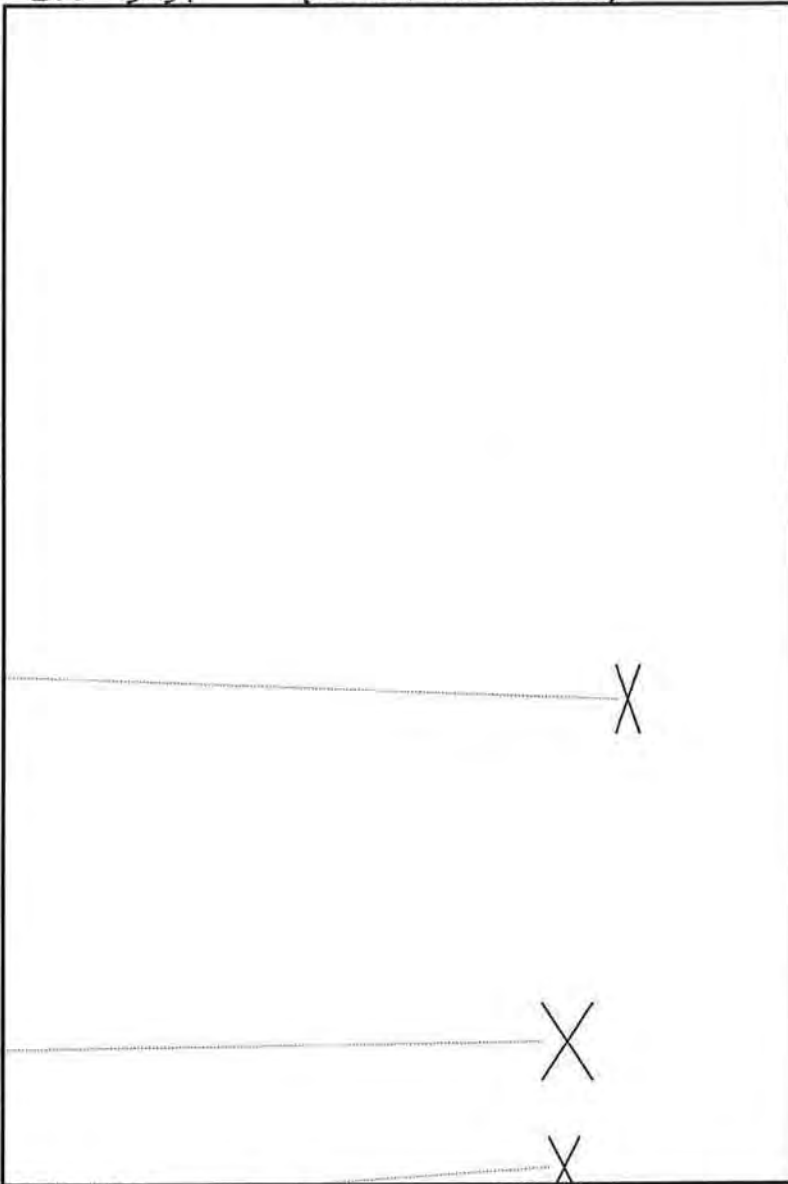
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100-45197 (FRANK WILKINSON)



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DEJ/sms 7/10
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The informant must continue to be concealed and may be described as a confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past.

A copy of this letter is being forwarded to the offices designated and to San Francisco files in which the informant has furnished information.

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